

INDIA & THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

BY

V. Shiva Ram, M.A., Ph. D.

Head of the Department of Political Science, Lucknow University ; Author of 'Colonial Policy' ; Sometime Carnegie Fellow in International Law ; Hon. Secretary, Lucknow Branch of the League of Nations Union.

and

Brij Mohan Sharma, M.A., Ph. D.

Author of 'Federal Polity,' 'The Indian Federation,' 'The Indian Constitutional Problem,' etc., Hon. Joint Secretary, Lucknow Branch of the League of Nations Union.

WITH A FOREWORD BY

Sir K.V. Reddi, Kt.

Sometime Minister to the Government of Madras and Agent General to the Government of India, in South Africa.

LUCKNOW

THE UPPER INDIA PUBLISHING HOUSE LTD.

Literature Palace, Aminuddaullah Park

1932

Published by
Upper India Publishing House Ltd.,
Lucknow.

PRINTED AT THE
SHUKLA PTG. PRESS
LUCKNOW.

FOREWORD

The whole existence of the League of Nations is based upon international cooperation, which is impossible without the dissemination of a sufficient knowledge of that body. There are, no doubt, many books and pamphlets which explain the aims and objects of the League and its achievements. But, these books, unfortunately, are not widely read in this country, and very few people have any clear conception of the greatest institution of our age. Consequently, there is very little interest in the League of Nations. What is wanted in India, therefore, is education regarding that body. I hope the present volume will educate the Indian public and create the necessary interest in the League.

This book is mainly intended for the benefit of school and college students. It does not profess to be critical, though in the last two chapters the patriotism of the authors impelled them to make some observations in that direction. But, the authors of this little book have attempted to place before their readers in as concise and clear a manner as possible the circumstances under which the League came into existence, its organisation, its working during the first decade of its existence and the position of India therein. So this work should prove just as useful to the general public as to the student population.

The League of Nations might have failed in a few instances, but during the past twelve years it has

proved its achievements and the possibilities for the future. Whether war would be out-lawed in practice it is not yet possible to say. But, if there is an organisation which can achieve this end it is the League of Nations. That India has gained a great deal by joining the League is sufficiently demonstrated in this book. It is not so much, however, by what India has already gained by being a member of the League, but by what she stands to gain by remaining a member of that body, and by what the League is capable of achieving in future that our countrymen will have to judge its utility. If the authors succeed in creating sufficient interest in the young minds of our country, their purpose will be served and this little book can be said to have not been written in vain.

"Telvetera,"

MADRAS,

15-11-1932.

K. V. REDDI

INTRODUCTION

This little book is intended to serve mainly as a manual or text book for High Schools and Colleges in India, as also a guide to the average citizen in understanding the relations of India with the external world in general and the League of Nations in particular. For, India and Indians are likely to play in future an important role in the League of Nations with impending constitutional changes in her system of government. This manual endeavours to show (a) how and why the League was formed, (b) what it has done during the last ten years of its existence with special reference to India, (c) a critical survey of its limits and possibilities, and (d) India and the League. Up to the present there has not been published for students of Intermediate Colleges and Secondary Schools in India, any treatise explaining the aims and achievements of the League with special reference to India. The authors are only too conscious of the many defects of this book, primarily due to lack of proper library facilities. It is hoped, however, that it will be found useful to stimulate further knowledge and interest in the activities of the League, for the League can only be as powerful and useful as its Members States will permit it to be. The authors have not in any sense become official apologists for the League but have made an honest and sincere attempt to evaluate the merits and defects of the League so that it may become of more increasing use to the world.

Rightly or wrongly, it is being increasingly felt in India that the League is an European League of Nations. While this may be true at the present time, and to a certain extent, it cannot be denied that Asia which houses and feeds half the world's population and is the cradle of the world's important religious systems, cannot but play an important part in the future of the League and the peace of the world. If the League has failed to solve the Manchurian question it has at least prevented the spread of operations of war and aroused the conscience of the world by concentrating public opinion on that issue. The machinery of the League can only function to the extent to which its members will co-operate. It is not claimed by the authors that the League is the panacea for all human ills and ailments, but it is the only means through which world peace can be secured however defective its machinery be. India, China and other states must strive ceaselessly to improve that machinery for the settlement of international disputes, which is the primary object of the League. It is only by the co-operation of India and other members that such an object can be accomplished.

The authors are deeply grateful to Sir K. V. Reddi for his kindly writing the foreword, and to the Upper India Publishing House for their prompt execution of the work.

The University, Lucknow,
August 1932.

V. S. RAM
B. M. SHARMA

To the Sacred Memory of Asoka and Akbar.

“ May there be peace in the sky, peace in the mid-air, peace on the earth, peace in waters, peace in medicines, and peace in vegetables. May all the powers of nature bring us peace. May God vouchsafe us peace. May peace and peace alone reign everywhere. May that peace come unto us.”

Yajurveda, XXXVI-17.

CONTENTS

CHAPTER	PAGE
Part One	
I. Historical Retrospect	3
II. The League and its Organisation ...	34
III. Ten years of the League of Nations (Political Achievements)	69
IV. Ten years of the League of Nations (Econo- mic, Social and Humanitarian work) ...	95
Part Two	
V. India in the League till 1931	135
VI. Future of India in the League	161
Part Three	
VII. Present Defects	187
VIII. Suggestions for the Future	202
Appendix. The Covenant of the League ...	217

PART ONE

THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

CHAPTER I

Historical Retrospect

Man is, by nature, a social being. He does not like to live alone, but is always inclined to live with others of his own kind. The reason is obvious. By living with others he enjoys all the advantages of the union—advantages which no one man can by himself secure. Hence we find groups and societies being formed. These groups and societies, in their turn, combine together for various purposes and expand into nations. These societies and nations cannot be formed unless there is peace between man and man. That is to say we do not find men combining together for the purpose of merely fighting with one another. War is, therefore, not the normal condition of society. It creates fear,

uncertainty of life, insecurity and considerable loss of man's possessions. And as no man likes to live under such conditions, unless they are unavoidable, it can be concluded that man is both by nature and temperament a peace loving being.

What is true of one man is equally true of groups of men. Just as a man always likes to have peaceful and friendly relations with his neighbours, so would a nation like to live in peace with its neighbours. In fact, the object of forming a government is simply to create peaceful conditions for those who live under it. A government which is at war with a foreign country cannot bring prosperity to its people. This has been realised by all nations ever since times immemorial. No doubt, the pages of history are full of accounts of wars and quarrels which resulted in considerable losses to the fighting parties, but these wars were only temporary phases of national activity. Every time a quarrel arose between two countries each tried to settle it peacefully. It was only when such efforts

had failed that resort was taken to arms, for none of them derived any pleasure from sacrificing their money and the precious lives of their youth. We, therefore, find that 'To live and let live' has always been the cardinal principle of all nations in all ages. And, for this purpose, nations have often tried to devise means whereby they could avoid war and escape from the resulting horrors and losses. These attempts have been made all the world over and since times immemorial. Here are given some of the most important efforts made by the lovers of peace for avoiding war and establishing peace and harmony in the world so that all men might enjoy their lives and live without fear of enemies. We have selected here an Indian, a French, and a German example, to show that these lovers of peace were not confined to any particular country. In other countries, too, efforts for establishing universal peace have been made, but for want of space we do not describe all of them here

Asoka (274-236 B. C.)—Thousands of years ago India enjoyed great prosperity. She was the most civilised country in the world. There were several emperors and kings who had done all they could for the good of their subjects. Many of them performed *Yajnas* and established their supremacy far and wide in order to avoid war with neighbouring countries. Among these Indian rulers the name of Emperor Asoka stands pre-eminent. Asoka ascended the throne of Magadh (modern Bihar) about 274 B.C., with his capital at Patliputra (modern Patna). He was at first a follower of the Brahmanical religion. Twelve years after his coronation, i. e. in B.C. 262, he invaded Kalinga and conquered it. But the horrors of that war and the bloodshed he witnessed with his own eyes brought about a miraculous change in his life. He felt extreme pain and sorrow at having been the cause of loss of human lives. He determined never to go to war again and to follow and preach to others the principle of *Ahimsa* or nonviolence. He became a

Buddhist and devoted the remainder of his life to doing his utmost to spread the cult of peace not only in his own empire which comprised almost the whole of India and Afghanistan, but in many other distant lands.

As printing was not known in those days, Asoka could not adopt the easy method of publishing his ideas through books which could be sent to distant places. Therefore, he adopted two other methods for spreading his principles. He sent missionaries to foreign countries, and had his teachings cut in pillars and on rocks. Some of the latter are still to be seen and accounts of the former are also available to some extent. From these it is clear that the chief aim of Asoka was to preach the gospel of *Ahimsa* so that nations might live in peace with each other. He taught men to tolerate each other's religion, and the strong not to oppress the weak. He believed that 'Right is Might' and that a weak nation has as good a right to live as a strong one. He also believed that as Buddhism was based

on *Ahimsa*, it would be well if all people followed that religion so that they might avoid war. In order to do this he sent missionaries to many distant countries even as far as Egypt, Syria, Cyrene, Macedonia, Epirus, China, Japan and Ceylon. They preached in the three continents of Asia, Europe and Africa. The success of Asoka's missions may be partly realised from the fact that China, Japan, Siam, Burma and Ceylon embraced Buddhism which even today is the most important religion in the world as regards the number of its followers.

The main object of Asoka in spreading the Buddhist cult was to inaugurate peace in the world by spiritualising politics. He served humanity and wished others to do the same, by treating the strong and the weak alike. At home his success was indeed very great. "India became a happy family of nations under an international system of Liberty, Equality and Fraternity for all, great or small. States unequal in size and strength were deemed equal as regards

their status or sovereignty. The Yavanas, Kambojas and Gandharas on the north-west frontiers, the Nabhapantis, Bhojas, Andhras, Pulindas, Rastrikas and Pitinikas in the central parts, and the Cholas and Pandyas, the Stiyaputras and Keralaputras in the south—all these small peoples were acclaimed by the emperor as his friends and equals in freedom, the objects not of a dreadful and forceful military conquest, but of his Moral Conquest, '*Dharmvijay*', the objects of his tender solicitude for their spiritual welfare".

Alongside the preaching of Buddhism, Asoka's missions to foreign countries did very useful welfare work among the peoples inhabiting them. They looked after all suffering men and beasts and liberally distributed medicines. The king, out of his love of peace and righteousness, spent large sums of money on this humanitarian work. His Rock Edicts are full of this message of universal peace. So that if Asoka shed some blood in his war against Kalinga—it was his first and last war—he more

than atoned for that sin by devoting the remaining part of his life to the work of establishing universal peace, and his name undoubtedly ranks foremost amongst those who lived and worked for the good of humanity. He stands as the forerunner of the message which lovers of peace are trying to preach now, more than 2000 years after his death. In a real sense, therefore, he may be acclaimed as the first founder of the League of Nations for the promotion of universal peace and spread of civilisation. The people of India cannot but co-operate in maintaining in the modern world this ideal of one of their greatest emperors.

Henry IV (1589-1610 A. D.)—The efforts at peace have not been confined to any one continent or age. In Europe, too, where the various nations have often fought against each other for securing material advantages, lovers of peace have appeared now then to preach against war. Western civilisation has mainly rested on the superiority of material progress over spiritual, and for that reason the history of

Europe is one long series of wars. As has already been stated nations cannot perpetually remain at war with one another; they must ultimately look for peace even for enjoying the spoils of war. At different periods of European history philosophers and monarchs have put forward their own formulas for peace. Greece was quite content with the development of her city-states and the perfection she sought in them. Rome made an effort at securing world peace by the *Pax-Romana*, but like all other imperialist nations she failed in her mission as the very means she employed prevented the establishment of an enduring peace. Later, Napoleon and William II both followed the footsteps of Hannibal and Caesar and failed even worse as they wanted a peace based on the supremacy and domination of their respective cultures and countries.

Here are given two of the most important contributions to the cause of world peace made by Henry IV and Immanuel Kant.

Henry of Navarre was born in 1553 and became King of Navarre in 1572. He was a Protestant by faith. During his time, *i. e.* in sixteenth century, Protestants and Catholics fought several times for supremacy, the one party trying to root out the other. It is curious that Christianity being essentially a religion based on peace, its followers, the Protestants and the Catholics alike, disturbed the peace of Europe and many times engaged themselves in religious wars. It was during these wars that Henry IV became King of France in 1589 after the assassination of Henry III. Europe was divided into two camps, Protestant and Catholic, and priestly domination was the order of the day. The Catholic League in France was very strong and Henry had to fight against it. France was thus thrown into civil wars which ended in 1593 when the King himself became a Catholic. But, at heart, he was not very much devoted to Catholicism. He believed in religious toleration and issued the Edict of Nantes giving freedom

of conscience to the Protestants and declaring that the State was independent of any particular religion.

Henry was a good humoured man. He was so generous, so courteous, and so chivalrous that even his enemies placed full reliance on his words. He led a plain life and had very noble thoughts. He disliked wars and always lent his support to bringing about peace between warring parties. Two examples may be cited here. When Catholic Spain declared war against her Protestant dependency of the United Provinces (modern Belgium and Holland) the conflict continued for a long time and resulted in heavy losses on either side. Henry persuaded the Spanish King to make peace with his rebellious provinces, and as a result of his noble efforts the United Provinces became a Republic and for a long time, remained a peaceful country in Europe.

There was also a quarrel between the Pope Paul V of Rome, and the Republic of Venice in Italy. The latter was very strong

and the Pope also had considerable influence. Henry IV foresaw the evil consequences of a war between these powers. He offered to bring about peace between them. Both parties gladly accepted his mediation and he succeeded in restoring peaceful relations. This increased the fame of Henry, and his interest in international peace won for him a high name among the rulers of Europe. Henry had realised that lust of material gains, expansion of territories and the wars waged under the pretence of 'religion in danger' lay at the root of the poverty and pain he saw in France—a condition created by the policy of his predecessors. He, therefore, thought of establishing peace in Europe. Fortunately, at that time, Elizabeth was ruling in England. She, too, was not orthodox in her religious views and had already granted religious freedom to her subjects. Henry IV and Elizabeth had thus much in common which they could use for the peace of Europe. Like Elizabeth, Henry IV was very fortunate

in having wise counsellors in his court, among whom Du Duc De Sully was the most favourite. Sully helped his king in the latter's mission of peace and his efforts were supported by Queen Elizabeth on the other side of the channel. This combination was a fortunate one at that time, if the cause of international peace was to flourish in Europe. Henry carried on correspondence with Elizabeth on the subject of establishing permanent peace in Europe, and the latter readily supported the activities of her French contemporary. Elizabeth was keen on putting the plan into immediate execution but Henry was, at that time, busy in consolidating his own kingdom. They both foresaw that the aggressive designs of Philip II, king of Spain, were the main cause of European quarrels in those times. Therefore, they first aimed at curbing his power, dividing Europe into independent kingdoms, without, of course, any territorial gains to England or France, for Henry rightly believed that the greatness of a nation lies not in the extent of its territorial

possessions but in the prosperity and contentment of its people. At that time the death of Philip II took place and for a time there was peace. But when Elizabeth died her death came as a terrible blow to Henry who lost in her death an enthusiastic supporter. Lesser sovereigns in Italy and Germany soon came forward with their support to his scheme, and he found out "the secret of persuading his neighbours that his sole object was to spare himself and his allies the immense sums spent on thousands of soldiers, fortresses and other military expenses; to deliver them from the constant dread of sanguinary catastrophes, so common in Europe; to gain an unalterable repose, and to unite them all in indissoluble bonds, so that all the Princes could live as brothers, and visit each other unceremoniously as good neighbours, without the expense of a suit that often only hid their miseries."

These are fine sentiments expressed by one who did all he could to establish an era of peace in Europe, but whose ideas could

not see full fruition in his age. Credit is, however, due to him for the "Grand Design" he prepared for avoiding wars and bringing all the European nations together for the betterment of their peoples. We give below the text of this Design as described by Elizabeth York.

The Grand Design of Henry IV.

The Object—The object of the plan was to divide Europe between a number of Powers, who would then have nothing to envy each other for on the ground of equality, and no reason to fear that the Balance of Power would be disturbed.

Number of States—The number of States was reduced to fifteen, and they were of three kinds, *viz.*, six great hereditary monarchical Powers; five with elective Kings, and four sovereign Republics. The six great Monarchies were Great Britain, France, Spain, Sweden, Denmark and Lombardy; the five elective Monarchies, the Holy Roman Empire, the Papacy, Poland, Hungary, and Bohemia; the four Republics, Venice, Italy, Switzerland and the Dutch Republic.

Laws and Statutes—The laws and statutes calculated to cement the union of all these states and to maintain order ; the reciprocal oaths and pledges as regards religion and politics ; mutual assurances for freedom of trade ; the measures to be taken for making all these divisions with equity, would be decided on to the contentment of all parties. Details could be arranged in the General Council, representing all the European States: also reforms which would from time to time be necessary.

The General Council—The model of this Council has been founded on the Amphyctyonic Council of ancient Greece, with modifications suitable to our usages, climate, and our political aims. It will consist of a number of commissioners, ministers, or plenipotentiaries from all the Powers of the Christian Republic, continually assembled as a Senate to deliberate on affairs as they arise, to discuss different interests, to pacify quarrels, to throw light on and oversee the civil, political, and religious affairs of Europe, both internal and foreign. The form and

procedure of the Senate will be decided by the votes of the members. It might be composed of four commissioners from each of the following Powers: the Emperor, the Pope, the Kings of England, France, Spain, Denmark, Sweden, Lombardy, Poland, the Venetian Republic, and two commissioners of each of the lesser Powers. This would be a Senate of about seventy persons, who might be elected once every three years.

The place of the Meeting.—It would have to be decided whether the Council should meet always in one place, or should move from town to town. If it were divided into three parts of twenty-two magistrates each, they might meet in Paris or Bourges, at Trent or Cracow. If it were decided not to divide the Council, the meeting place should be in Central Europe, in one of the fourteen following towns: Mertz, Luxemburg, Nancy, Cologne, Mayence, Treves, Frankfort, Wurtzburg, Heidelberg, Spire, Worms, Strasburg, Bale, Besancon.

Minor Councils —As well as the General Council, there should be a number of Minor

Councils, say six, which might meet at Dantzic, Nuremberg, Vienna, Bologna, Constance, and another Council in a place most convenient to France, England, Spain, and the Belgian Republic.

Appeal Court.—The Minor Councils should have recourse by appeal to the General Council, whose decisions must be irrevocable.

Combined Army and Navy.—The Allied Powers, according to the capability of each, would provide soldiers and warships. The General Council would decide the quota for each State to contribute, and the amount of financial support necessary to maintain this armament. Henry IV suggested that the force should include 70,000 infantry, 53,000 cavalry, 200 cannons, 120 warships.

Conquered Countries.—New Kingdoms would be formed out of conquered countries, which would join the Christian Republic, and be given to different Princes, excluding those who were already among European sovereigns.

Political Objects.—The purely political

part of the plan was to despoil the House of Austria of all its possessions in Germany, Italy, and the Netherlands—in a word, to confine it to Spain, bounded by the Atlantic, the Mediterranean, and the Pyrenees, and in order to make this House equal to the other powers, to give to it Sardinia, Majorca, Minorca, and other islands on these coasts ; the Canary Isles, the Azores, Cape Verde Island, and its possessions in Africa ; Mexico with the American islands belonging to it ; countries which would suffice to found great Kingdoms ; and finally the Philippines, Goa, the Moluccas, and Spain's other possessions in Asia.

Finance.—All the Powers joining the Christian Republic should tax themselves for the maintenance of the combined army and navy, and for other things necessary for the success of the plan, until the General Council could specify the amounts for each.

Such was the contribution of Henry IV to the cause of general peace in Europe. His scheme shows that he had a very great

width of vision and although during his life time and for several hundred years after his death, his scheme was not worked upon, it must be admitted that the present League of Nations contains in its constitution the spirit of Henry's ideal. The only adverse criticism that can now be made of his views is that he had visualised a league only of the Christian nations and he was in this way confining himself only to Europe. Unlike Asoka who embraced several continents in his practical scheme of establishing universal peace, Henry IV did not consider with equal sympathy the case of peoples living outside the confines of European countries.

Immanuel Kant.—Another important attempt at European peace was made not by a ruler but a philosopher who, though having no direct part in the politics of his day, thought much for the welfare of mankind. This was Immanuel Kant. Kant was born in Konigsburg (Germany) in the year 1724. His father was a leather cutter, so the son belonged to a

poor family and began his life as a poor man. Kant got his secondary education at a high school in his town and later on joined the University, supporting himself by private teaching. For a time he had to give up his studies but after working as a private tutor in some families in Poland, he rejoined his University and took the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in 1755. Subsequently he rose to be Professor of Logic and Metaphysics. It was as a professor that he began his serious philosophical studies at the age of forty. In his studies the works of Newton, Hume and Rousseau profoundly impressed him. He openly acknowledged that the teachings of Rousseau had brought him to the right path. The two most important and lasting impressions on his mind were the supremacy of Reason and the Freedom of the Individual. As regards the first he differed from Hume, and in his conception of the second he owed his debt largely to the teachings of Rousseau. Kant wrote several important works on Critical Philosophy, *viz.* the *Critique*

of Pure Reason, the Critique of Practical Reason, the Critique of the Faculty of Judgment which even to day are read and studied as classics. All these works show that his mind was full of new ideas for the liberation of humanity as he saw it working in the Europe of that time.

In addition to his purely philosophical works, he published several essays which contain his political views. Through these essays, viz. *the Principles of Progress, the Principles of Political Rights, the Natural Principle of Political order, and Perpetual Peace* he expresses his political ideals. All these bear an impress of the teachings of Rousseau who was truly Kant's political guru. In his essay 'Perpetual Peace' Kant outlined his scheme for the establishment of amity and harmony between the various nations of Europe. Early he had realised the horrors of international wars which fact together with his love of humanity actuated him to undertake the work of putting forward the scheme. Kant believed in the liberty, equality and self-dependency

of every member of society. He maintained that the aim of all political institutions should be the maintenance of peace between nations. He believed in the establishment of a Federation of Nations which alone could effectively rule out war and bring happiness to the peoples. Necessarily, therefore, he was against the monarchical form of government and suggested the republican form as the best approach to his ideals. He wrote: "The form of government, however, if it is to be in accordance with the idea of right, must embody the representative system in which alone a republican form of administration is possible, and without which it is despotic and violent, be the constitution what it may." And if, in this view, he advocated the principle of individual liberty and equality, he proposed, at the same time, a voluntary combination of nations to maintain international peace and to secure that equality and liberty. His views may thus be summed up: "Nature has made it possible for men to live in all parts of the earth. War has dispersed them

everywhere so that they might populate even the most inhospitable regions. By this means Nature has compelled them to enter into relations more or less of a judicial character. The commercial spirit ultimately controls every State and will compel a World Peace."

For the establishment of World Peace he made definite proposals in his essay on 'Perpetual Peace,' some of which are given below :—

PART ONE

(*Preliminary Articles*)

1. No treaty of Peace shall be considered valid which has been made with the secret reservation of material for a future war.
2. No State having an independent existence (whether small or large) shall be acquired by another State through inheritance, exchange, purchase or gift.
3. Standing armies shall, in the course of time, be entirely abolished.

4. No national debts shall be contracted in connexion with the foreign affairs of the State.
5. No State shall interfere violently with the Constitution or Government of another State.
6. No State at war with another shall permit such hostilities as would make reciprocal confidence impossible in a future peace ; such as the employment of assassins or poisoners, the breaches of capitulation, the instigation of treason in a State against which it is making war, etc.

PART TWO.

(*Definitive Articles*)

1. The civil constitution in every state shall be republican.
2. The Law of Nations shall be founded on a Federation of Free States.
3. The rights of men as citizens of the world shall be limited by conditions of universal hospitality.

On a careful study of these articles it will be seen that the present League of Nations has incorporated in its Covenant almost all the Preliminary Articles described as Part One above. The definitive Articles of Part Two go far beyond the scope, the power and the purpose of this League. Yet, Immanuel Kant may rightly be called a forerunner of the fathers of our League and his name will always be remembered by the grateful posterity as one of those who spent their lives in propagating ideas of universal peace—ideas which are being taken up by all lovers of peace in the present century.

Failure of Earlier Attempts—We have given above three of the most serious attempts made at establishing peace in the world. Many more of lesser importance were made in almost all ages. But how is it that they did not bear any permanent results? It may be that these lovers of humanity and universal peace were far ahead of their times. Or it may be that the different countries of the world had not till our day

realised sufficiently the wisdom of making serious attempts to establish world peace. In the latter case, perhaps distance was partly responsible for the failure as people living long apart did not come in closer contact with each other. Lack of communications was a great obstacle in the path of our forefathers. Modern scientific discoveries have reduced space and brought distant countries together. The printing press and the telegraph, coupled with the Industrial Revolution affecting all the countries, and movements like that of labour have gone a great way in strengthening the feeling of brotherhood of men. These facilities and sentiment of fellowfeeling were unknown in the time of Asoka, Henry IV or Immanuel Kant. And lastly we might also say that the cup of human miseries resulting from mutual wars had not till then been filled up. Men had to be aroused to the full consciousness of universal brotherhood by the horrors of a world war—horrors which, prior to 1914, they had only imagined but not fully realised—before nations could

make a serious and successful attempt at evolving an instrument and establishing an institution whereby they could bring the blessings of peace to the world.

The War and After.—(1914—1919). During the closing years of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century several European nations had settled their quarrels without actually going to war. At the Hague had been held many conferences which had averted war. Still during the first decade of the present century almost all European nations, Japan, and the United States of America, and the British Empire including India, had spent vast sums on armaments and ship-building. Nations, while outwardly talking of peace, were inwardly distrusting each other. This was due to their greed, lust of power, jealousies and ambitions. The breaking point was reached in July 1914 when a comparatively insignificant event (the murder of the Austrian Crown Prince in Servia) proved to be the match to fire the already collected and heaped

up combustible material in Europe, and produced a conflagration which soon enveloped all the continents. Nations that were boasting of their civilisation forgot all their tall talk of universal peace and for full four years they engaged themselves in the indiscriminate work of destruction. In the war all nations lost large numbers of their youth and spent vast sums of money in the attempt to destroy each other. Millions of lives were lost, billions of money was spent, and this madness for mutual destruction abated only when the resources of the fighting nations were exhausted. Even the neutrals could not escape the terrible economic consequences of a world conflict.

But 'out of evil cometh good' proved true when the war ended. Perhaps the sacrifices necessary for achieving a noble object had been sufficiently made. When the intervention of Dr. Woodrow Wilson, President of the United States of America, started the negotiations for peace, the response from all sides was encouraging.

Wilson, Smuts and others foresaw that the time for the fruition of the scheme of which Asoka, Henry IV and Immanuel Kant were important early thinkers, had come. They proposed the establishment of a League of Nations for the prevention of future wars.

The Covenant of the League.—Two months before the signing of the Peace Treaty the representatives of Britain, France, Italy, Japan and the United States of America met together at Paris on April 28, 1919, and accepted a Covenant dealing with the aims and organisation of the League of Nations. This Covenant was made a part of the Treaty of Peace signed between the belligerents at Versailles on June 28, 1919. The Covenant contains 26 Articles which define the aims and organisation of the League, the conditions for membership, and the methods for settling international disputes. It embodies in all essentials the principles underlying the schemes of the three lovers of humanity, whose efforts for universal peace have been described above.

Original Membership of the League—The Covenant became a separate treaty on January 10, 1920, after ratification by the various signatories. At 4. 15 p. m. that day the League of Nations became a legal international organisation. The original membership of 24 was confined to the 19 nations that were signatories to the Peace Treaty of Versailles, *viz.* Australia, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, Canada, Czechoslovakia, France, Guatemala, India, Italy, Japan, New Zealand, Panama, Peru, Poland, Siam, South Africa and Uruguay, and five neutrals, *viz.* Argentina, Chile, Paraguay, Persia, and Spain.

In the following chapters of this part the organisation, working, and the achievements of these ten years, of the League are described in brief.

CHAPTER II

The League and Its Organisation

Aim of the League.—The League of Nations has been established for two purposes, viz. to secure peace between the various nations in the world by making them agree to certain laws and rules of international dealings, and to make future wars impossible. This double aim of the League is clear from the opening paragraph of the Covenant in which the signatories state that they agree to the Covenant

“ In order to promote international co-operation and to achieve international peace and security

by the acceptance of obligations not to resort to war,

by the prescription of open, just and honourable relations between nations,

by the firm establishment of the understandings of international law as the rule of conduct among governments, and by the maintenance of justice and a scrupulous respect for all treaty obligations in the dealings of organised peoples with one another."

This is a noble aim and if all nations accept the obligations indicated above they will not have to go to war and destroy each other for settling their mutual disputes.

Membership.—In the beginning, all the signatories to the Peace Treaty and some of the Powers that had remained neutral during the war but were invited to accede to the Covenant became members of the League by signing the Covenant. For future membership of the League, the conditions are mentioned in Article I. "Any fully self-governing State or Dominion or Colony not named in the Annex may become a member of the League if its admission is agreed to by two-thirds of the Assembly, provided that it shall give effective guarantees of its sincere intention to observe its

international obligations, and shall accept such regulations as may be prescribed by the League in regard to its military, naval, and air forces and armaments." If a member nation ever desires to discontinue its membership of the League it can do so after giving two years notice of its intention provided it has fulfilled all its obligations at the time of withdrawal. This shows that the membership is not a forced but an optional matter, for no nation can be compelled to accept the Covenant and become a member, nor it can be compelled to remain within the League if it chooses to go out of it.

How the League works.—To carry on its work as stated in the preamble the League has certain instruments of its own. It has an Assembly and a Council, with a permanent Secretariat. The offices of the League are established at Geneva in Switzerland, which is the official seat of the League. The League is intimately connected with the Permanent Court of International Justice situated at The Hague, and often uses the

Court as an advisory body on matters referred to it or as the highest judicial international tribunal for deciding disputes. There is also the International Labour Organisation which, though autonomous, is now definitely connected with the League. The League has several technical and advisory committees.

The Assembly.—The Assembly is the most numerous body composed of not more than three representatives of each of the State Member of the League. It is the general body of the League and may be roughly compared to the legislature of a state. The representatives of any State Member may be accompanied by some substitute delegates or technical experts to attend the meetings of the League, but the latter have no right of voting. Whatever may be the number of representatives from a particular State Member attending any session of the League, they have only one cumulative vote. In this way the composition of the Assembly recognises the equality of States Members, whether the States are small or large.

The Assembly meets at Geneva, in the month of September each year and the session lasts about a month. If necessary the meeting place may be shifted to any other town. One or more members may request the summoning of a special session of the League Assembly provided a majority of the States Members support the proposal.

The delegates to the Assembly represent the Governments of their respective countries and in expression of opinions or casting of votes they reflect the views of their Governments. So that when a session of the Assembly is held, the views of the delegates are listened to with great interest by the public to which the sessions are open. In fact, the Assembly, though some critics might consider it an unwieldy body, is rapidly acquiring a very great importance in the counsels of nations, as it is here in the Assembly that we see a miniature world wherein the several Members States express their views frankly and openly.

The powers of the Assembly are very wide. Article 3 of the Covenant states:

"The Assembly may deal at its meetings with any matter within the sphere of action of the League or affecting the peace of the world". And although we see that Article 4 confers similarly very wide powers on the Council also, the Covenant reserves some questions only to the Assembly which thus exercises exclusive powers in those matters. Some of these special powers may be mentioned here. It is the Assembly alone which amends the Covenant; admits new members to the League; elects the non-permanent members of the council; controls the budget of the League and in this way influences its various organisations or can stop the activities which it disapproves; decides the apportionment of the cost of the League between the States Members; advises reconsideration by the States Members of treaties which become inapplicable or the reconsideration of which it considers essential for the peace of the world; reviews the work of the Council and the Secretariat and gives them instructions for future conduct.

The Assembly session opens under the presidency of the President of the Council at that time ; elects its President and Vice-President ; allots the work on its agenda among the six sub-committees ; and discusses the report of the Council.

The following are the subjects referred to the six sub-committees:—

1. Political questions, including the admission of new States into the League.
2. Disarmament, *i. e.* the limitation of armaments of the States Members, including economic blockade of the recalcitrants.
3. Legal and Constitutional, comprising all matters dealing with the constitution of the League including the amendments to the Covenant.
4. Technical, *i. e.* Finance, Transit, etc.
5. Budget and Internal Administration.
6. Humanitarian and Social Welfare
(The prevention of epidemics,

control of traffic in Opium and other dangerous Drugs, traffic in Women and Childern, etc.

These Committees discuss the matters referred to them by the Assembly and express their decisions thereon. Each committee appoints a rapporteur who submits to the Assembly the reports of all the discussions and conclusions of the committee on the subjects referred to it. The Assembly then considers all these reports and adopts or rejects them as it considers proper. The institution of these committees is a very important part of the League's work, as it is here in the committees to each of which every State Member appoints a representative, that the work is speedily and effectively done.

Any representative may speak in any language, but English and French are the two recognised languages of the League and all the proceedings are officially published in these languages.

The decisions of the Assembly are generally arrived at by unanimity of the

States Members. This is a very important condition as it affords ample guarantee to the minor States against any encroachment on their freedom, and also prevents the formation of cliques inside the League. When, however, unanimity is not secured the Assembly merely makes recommendations on such matters by a majority vote and these recommendations are not binding on the States Members. There are some matters in which unanimity rule is not enforced even for the purpose of arriving at final decisions by the Assembly. The most important of these are the admission of new members for which a two-thirds vote of the Assembly is required, and amendments to the Covenant of the League, for which a bare majority suffices. But no amendments come into force until they have been ratified by all the States Members of the Council and a majority of the States Members of the League. Till now only five amendments to the Covenant have been made.

The Council.—The Council of the League consists of three kinds of members, *viz.*

Permanent, Non-Permanent, and Temporary members. There are five Permanent Members, viz. Great Britain, France, Italy, Japan and Germany (since 1926). They have been appointed permanent members on account of their having world-wide interests. Originally when the League was established it was decided to accord the United States of America a permanent seat on the Council, but since that country has not yet joined the League, its place on the Council is not filled up. There are at present nine non-permanent members. Each non-permanent member is appointed for three years. Every year three of the non-permanent members retire and they are not eligible for re-election for three years unless the Assembly by a two-thirds vote decides otherwise. The non-permanent members are so elected as to represent all important interests on the Council. Originally, in 1920, there were only four non-permanent members, but the increase in the volume of work done by the Council, as well as the increase in the member-

ship of the League. when other States came in, led to the increase in this number from four to six since 1922, and from six to nine since 1926. Since the importance of the League is rapidly increasing in the field of international affairs, there is always a competition between the States Members keen for election of non-permanent members. The number of permanent and non-permanent members may be increased any time when on the recommendation of the Council, the Assembly decides it by a majority vote.

Temporary members are appointed whenever an important matter is before the Council and it is found necessary to hear the views of a State concerned in the matter, if that State has no representative on the Council. This temporary membership lasts only till that issue is settled.

The meetings of the Council are held three times a year, *i e.*, after every four months, in January, May and September. The Council meets usually at Geneva but may be summoned at any other place if

necessary. In an emergency, special session of the Council may be held at any time.

The President of the Council is selected for each session and the selection is by rotation, each Member State getting a chance to occupy presidency, in alphabetical order. This secures equality of treatment to all the Members States as regards this important office. The meetings of the Council are generally public, but it may also meet in private, if necessary. The procedure adopted is very simple. For each item on the agenda, the Council appoints a rapporteur who prepares a full report on the matter with the help and co-operation of the League Secretariat. The Council then considers the reports of the rapporteurs and adopts them or modifies them after discussion. The decisions are generally unanimous. The minutes of the Council are always published.

The Powers of the Council. Apart from having very wide powers conferred on it by Article 4 of the Covenant which empowers the Council to "deal at its meet-

ings with any matter within the sphere of action of the League or affecting the peace of the world", the Council has some special exclusive powers. These are:—

- (i) To prepare a plan for the reduction of all kinds of armaments of the States Members.
- (ii) To increase the number of Permanent or Non-Permanent Members of the Council with the approval of the Assembly.
- (iii) To approve the appointments made by the Secretary General.
- (iv) To decide the contributions of armed forces to be made by Members States when it is decided to fight any recalcitrant State.
- (v) To appoint commissioners for the administration of the Saar Basin and also to supervise the administration of mandated territories by getting reports from mandatory powers every three months.

- (vi) To protect the racial, linguistic and religious minorities.
- (vii) To elect judges of the Permanent Court of International Justice, with the help of the Assembly.
- (viii) To prepare the draft budget to be submitted to the Assembly.
- (ix) To appoint a High Commissioner for the Free City of Danzig and to settle all disputes that may arise between this city and Poland.

In view of these special powers given it, the Council has become a very influential body and its membership is a very coveted privilege. The Council cannot be called an Upper Legislative House, it generally does the work entrusted to the Executive in a State, and so it may be called the executive organ of the League.

The Secretariat.—Article 6 of the Covenant deals with the establishment of the permanent Secretariat of the League. The Secretariat is located at Geneva and comprises all the offices of the League. At

the head of the Secretariat is the Secretary General with a Deputy Secretary-General and three Under-Secretaries General. The first Secretary General, Sir James Eric Drummond, was named in an annex to the Covenant, and in future the Secretary-General will be elected by the Assembly.

The duties of the Secretary-General are very extensive. He is the ex-officio Secretary-General of the Assembly and the Council. With the approval of the Council he makes all the appointments in the Secretariat. He supervises the whole work of the Secretariat and issues instructions to the 600 officials under him. All these officials are responsible to the Secretary-General and cannot receive instructions from their Governments. The officials of the Secretariat enjoy all the diplomatic privileges in discharging their duties.

The work and organisation of the Secretariat is very important. The Secretariat is divided into several sections according to the work given to each section. In each section there are officials belonging

to different countries. Each section acts as Secretariat to the committee or the organisation to which it is attached. The following are the chief sections of the Secretariat:—

- (1) Administrative Commissions and Minorities Questions section.
- (2) Economic and Financial section.
- (3) The Transit section.
- (4) The Health section.
- (5) The Social Questions and Opium Traffic section.
- (6) The Disarmament section.
- (7) The Intellectual Co-operation section.
- (8) The Legal section.
- (9) The Mandates section.
- (10) The Information section.

Each section deals with matters coming within its scope which is indicated by its name. For example, there is the Mandates section which deals with all matters concerning the mandatory powers and the administration of mandated territories.

The Secretariat collects all information

necessary for the Assembly, the Council, or any of the committees appointed under the authority of the League. It helps these bodies in the discharge of their work. It publishes the agenda and the proceedings of the various organisations. It keeps itself in touch with all humanitarian, social and political work which has any international bearing and provides correct information throughout the world in connection with the League. For this purpose it publishes a monthly summary of the work of the League in addition to a large number of pamphlets each dealing with a particular activity of the League. As the success of the League depends upon the creation of a powerful world opinion in favour of its work, the Secretariat through its Information Section is ever ready to organise contact with the different countries of the world. During these ten years thousands of journalists and publicists have visited Geneva and watched the working of the League through its Secretariat. In fact it is the Secretariat whose work keeps

the League alive throughout the year by giving it stability and ensuring continuous contact between the various countries of the world.

Finances of the League.—As has been pointed out above, the League maintains a large Secretariat of 600, issues monthly and other periodical reports of its working and appoints commissions, etc. for doing its work. All this means a large expenditure. How is this met? Para 5 of Article 6 of the Covenant, as amended upto August 13, 1924, states: "The expenses of the League shall be borne by the Members of the League in the proportion decided by the Assembly."

The following figures indicate the division of the budget for the year 1930.

1. Secretariat and other special Organisations	15,965,256	gold francs
2. The International Labour Organisation	8,552,011	do.
3. The Permanent Court of International Justice	2,267,981	do.
4. Building at Geneva	1,425,000	do.
TOTAL ...	28,210,248	do.

The Committee for the Allocation of Expenses decided the proportion of expenses to be borne by each member state as follows:—

*Units of expenses to be borne by the members states
for the years 1929—32.*

State	Units	State	Units
Abyssinia	2	Irish Free State	10
Albania	1	Italy	60
Argentina	29	Japan	60
Australia	27	Latvia	3
Austria	8	Liberia	1
Belgium	18	Lithuania	4
Bolivia	4	Luxemburg	1
Bulgaria	5	Netherlands	23
Canada	35	New Zealand	10
Chile	14	Nicaragua	1
China	46	Norway	9
Colombia	6	Panama	1
Costa Rica	1	Paraguay	1
Cuba	9	Persia	5
Czechoslovakia	29	Peru	9
Denmark	12	Poland	32
Dominican Republic	1	Roumania	22
Estonia	3	Salvador	1

Finland	10	Siam	9
France	79	Spain	40
Great Britain	105	Sweden	18
Greece	7	Switzerland	17
Guatemala	1	Union of South Africa	15
Haiti	1	Uruguay	7
Honduras	1	Venezuela	5
Hungary	8	Yugoslavia	20
India	56		

TOTAL ... 986 units

In addition to the contributions made in the above proportion by the States Members of the League, the United States of America has been paying to the League, on its own initiative, 10·65 per cent of the cost of all the conferences in which the Government of that country takes part, e. g. the Disarmament Conference, Conference on Import and Export Prohibitions Restrictions. The U. S. A. Government also purchases League literature to the value of 400 dollars annually.

The Permanent Court of International Justice.

This is a very important autonomous

organisation connected with the work of international peace. It owes its origin to the last decade of the 19th century. On the proposal of Tsar Nicholas II of Russia, a peace conference was held at The Hague, which adopted the scheme of establishing a Tribunal for the settlement of international disputes without recourse to war. In 1907 a second peace conference was held at The Hague which tried to appoint salaried judges to the Tribunal and extend the sphere of the Court of Justice. As the various European nations could not agree on the method of appointment of judges, a very important part of the affair, the scheme failed. In 1915, the third peace conference could not meet on account of the Great War. So that it was left to the Powers that had assembled in 1919 to end the War, to take effective measures for the establishment of the Court, and these Powers decided to include the setting up of the Court in the Covenant of the League of Nations.

Article 14 of the Covenant stated: "The Council shall formulate and submit to the

Members of the League for adoption plans for the establishment of a Permanent Court of International Justice. The Court shall be competent to hear and determine any dispute of an international character which the parties submit to....". Accordingly, in February, 1920, the Council appointed a committee of ten jurists of the world, who formulated plans for the establishment of the Court. These plans were discussed and modified by the First Assembly of the League and passed in December 1920. A majority of the Members States of the League ratified these plans and then in September, 1921, the first judges of the Court were elected. This, in brief, is the history of the Permanent Court of International Justice.

Organisation of the Court.—The Court sits at The Hague in the Peace Palace built with the sum generously contributed by Mr. Andrew Carnegie of U. S. A., and a number of governments. At present it consists of 15 judges who are elected for nine years and are eligible for re-election.

The list of candidates for election as judges is prepared on the receipt of nominations from independent jurists; and in addition the Supreme Court of Justice, the Faculties and Schools of Law and Academies of Law are also consulted. After the list has been finally prepared, the Assembly and the Council meet separately and proceed to the election of judges. Candidates who obtain majority of votes both in the Assembly and the Council are declared elected. This is a complicated method of election, but in view of the great importance of the decisions of the Court on matters referred to it, this method protects the interests of the large and small countries alike. So far judges from the following countries have been elected:—Brazil, China, Cuba, Denmark, France, Great Britain, Italy, Japan, Netherlands, Norway, Roumania, Spain, Switzerland, the United States of America, and Yugoslavia. This shows that the Court includes men with legal experience of various countries with different legal systems and civilisations, a quality which is of

utmost importance in the settling of international disputes. It is, however, much to be regretted that neither the Hindu nor the Moslem system of jurisprudence and civilisation has been represented on the Court so far, though it was originally intended that all the principal systems of jurisprudence and civilisations should be represented on the bench of the Court.

The Court elects its President and Vice-President, the term of each being three years. It also appoints its own Registrar and Deputy-Registrar. The President and the Registrar reside at The Hague. Whenever a dispute between nations is referred to the Court, each party has the right to appoint temporarily one judge of its own nationality, if it has already no such judge on the Bench. This ensures a clear and full representation of its case when the dispute is settled.

Functions of the Court.—The Court has two functions: as an advisory body it gives opinions only to the Assembly or the Council on any matter referred to it by

these bodies, and as a judicial tribunal it decides international disputes referred to it by the parties concerned in which case its decisions are legally binding on the parties. Any country in the world, which undertakes to abide by the decisions of the Court, can refer a dispute, in which it is interested, for decision by the Court. The members of the League can voluntarily refer their disputes to the Court, or in certain cases the Assembly or the Council may do so by their resolution, in all these cases the decision of the Court being final.

Besides the actual settlement of disputes that may arise between two or more nations the Court has the power to decide all cases mentioned below, that are referred to it by the Governments which have accepted the 'optional clause' statute of the Court :—

- (1) The interpretation of a treaty.
- (2) Any question of international law.
- (3) The existence of any fact which, if established, would constitute a breach of an international law.

- (4) The nature or extent of the reparation due for the breach of an international obligation.

In arriving at its decisions the Court does not follow any particular code of international laws, as there is as yet no such code. It follows all those international conventions which have been recognised by the parties concerned, as well as those customs and general legal principles which all civilised nations accept as having the force of law. The Court is not bound to follow precedents of its own previous decisions, but decides each particular dispute on its merits. It is hoped that the various decisions of the Court would soon help nations to prepare a code of international law, the necessity and the importance of which is very great.

The International Labour Organisation.

Another autonomous international institution is the International Labour Organisation. During the nineteenth century the many scientific discoveries and inventions led to the wide application of machinery

and the increasing output of manufactures. This resulted in the opening of large factories, workshops and mills where capitalists employed large numbers of workers and labourers. Soon the problem of the welfare of these labourers attracted world-wide attention. In 1900, the International Association for Workers' Legal Protection was founded at Paris. In 1906 and 1913 two conferences were held at Berne, which made some international agreements for the welfare of workers. When the Great War broke out, the workers, though behind the firing lines, considerably helped their respective countries by heartily responding to the call made to them. They did very great service in meeting all the demands of their nations. This indicated the value of co-operation between the employers and the employed.

Consequently the Peace Conference, at its meeting of January 25, 1919, appointed a commission of 15 members, 2 from each of the five Powers with world-wide

interests, and five representing other Powers with special interests, to report on the subject of labourers' welfare. The commission reported in favour of the establishment of the International Labour Organisation and the declaration of the nine principles guiding the policy of the signatories to the Peace Treaty in regard to the welfare of workers. The following are the principles :—

1. Labour is not to be considered as only an article of commerce.
2. The employers as well as the employed have the right of association for all lawful purposes.
3. Workers should be paid such wages as are adequate and reasonable to enable them to lead a comfortable life.
4. To adopt a forty-eight hour working week wherever it has not yet been adopted.
5. At least 24 hours continual rest should be given to the workers.

which should include Sunday as far as possible.

6. Children should not be employed for work, and young persons should be so employed as to have sufficient time left for their education and physical development.
7. Men and women workers should get equal wages for works of equal value.
8. Each country should lay down a standard of conditions of labour with due regard to equitable economic treatment of all workers.
9. Provision should be made for inspection to see that regulations and laws for the protection and welfare of workers are being enforced. Women also should take part in this inspection.

The Powers signing the Treaty of Versailles admitted that the giving effect to the above principles in settling their economic and labour policy was necessary for the welfare of the labouring class, with-

out which no lasting peace in the world was possible. They were right in their conclusions because the machinery and the War had brought the labouring classes in all countries together by creating mutual sympathies on account of the similarity of their problems every where and the labour movement was bound to acquire international aspect. Any neglect, therefore, of their interests would have resulted in revolutions. The establishment of the International Organisation averted such a contingency.

The International Labour Organisation includes in its membership all the Members States of the League of Nations and such other nations as, not being members of the League, wish to join the organisation and abide by its decisions. It has two organs, the International Labour Office, and the International Labour Conference.

The International Labour Conference.—This conference sits at least once a year at Geneva or at any other place that may be selected for the purpose. When necessary,

it may be summoned oftener than once a year. It deals with the problems of social justice and peace in the world and so takes up a large number of subjects in some of which it gives great help to the Assembly of the League of Nations.

The conference consists of four representatives from each of the States Members of the International Labour Organisation. Of these four members two are representatives of the Government, one represents the employers and one the workers of the country. The delegates of the workers and employers are appointed by the government after consultation with the workers' and the employers' organisations in the country. The four delegates from a country have freedom of vote, that is to say they need not vote similarly as is the case with the delegates of a State to the Assembly of the League.

As the problems of workers and employers on the one hand, and those of the labour and the Government on the other, are similar in all countries, it is but

natural that the workers' delegates from all countries form one group, and the employers' delegates form another group. The Governments' representatives occupy a central position between the two. In this way, in the International Labour Conference, we see international co-operation on international lines in contrast with national lines, between the various countries in a much more marked degree than in the Assembly of the League, where different countries form different national groups.

The official languages of the Conference are English and French and all official documents are published in both these languages. The delegates are, however, free to speak in any language they choose. The Conference discusses all subjects that concern the establishment of international rules in regard to labour conditions in the world. The agenda is prepared in advance by the International Labour Office. The decisions of the Conference are generally by majority vote. They are of two kinds, *viz.* (i) Conventions, passed by two-third major-

rity and binding on the governments that ratify them, e.g. forty-eight hour convention, and (ii) Recommendations, passed by a simple majority vote, are merely resolutions which register the opinions of the Conference on particular matters and are intended for consideration by all Governments. A recommendation is binding on a State that accepts it, but no action can be taken against it if after acceptance it does not apply it. A recommendation, in view of its having been made by the International Labour Conference, surely influences the legislation of a State even when that State does not accept it.

The International Labour Office.—This Office occupies the same position in relation to the Conference as the Secretariat in relation to the Assembly. The Office is situated in palatial buildings built out of the generous contributions by the various Governments. The chief function of the Office is to prepare agenda for the annual meetings of the International Labour Conference. Besides this, it is always

busy getting and supplying information from and to the various countries. It publishes the periodical reports of the work done for social peace and helps the several auxiliary committees and commissions set up to deal with different subjects.

The Governing Body of the Office consists of 24 members. Twelve out of these are Government representatives, eight being permanent and representing the eight States that have been classed as having world-wide industrial importance, *viz.* Belgium, Canada, France, Germany, Great Britain, India, Italy and Japan. The remaining four Government representatives are non-permanent and are elected for three years from amongst the Government representatives of other countries. Of the other twelve representatives, six are elected by the workers' delegates of all countries, from amongst themselves, and similarly six by the employers' delegates. The Governing Body meets once in every three months. It appoints its own Director and Deputy-

Director, and has a large staff of officials. The Office is divided into several sections each dealing with the work entrusted to it. The Diplomatic Division, the Intelligence and Liaison Division, the Research or Scientific Division and the General Organisation Division are the four most important sections of the Office.

An Indian branch of the International Office was started in 1924 under the direction of Dr. P. P. Pillai to collaborate the work of the labour problems in India with those of the League.

CHAPTER III

Ten Years of the League of Nations

(Political Achievements)

The League of Nations has been in existence for nearly ten years. It is too short a time for an International Organisation to prove a complete success. Yet a brief review of the development and work of the League during these years, will convince every body that it promises to be a great success as an organisation for securing world peace.

This is best proved by the growth of the League from year to year. There were only 24 States that had joined the League at the time of its establishment in 1920. Since then, other States, realising the utility of and the good work done by this international institution, joined it one after another,

so that at present the membership has reached fifty-four. On January 1, 1930 the following states were members of the League: Abyssinia, Albania, Argentine Republic, Australia, Austria, Belgium, Bolivia, British Empire, Bulgaria, Canada, Chile, China, Colombia, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Estonia, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Hungary, India, Irish Free State, Italy, Japan, Latvia, Liberia, Lithuania, Luxemburg, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Norway, Panama, Paraguay, Persia, Peru, Poland, Portugal, Roumania, Salvador, Siam, South Africa, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yugoslavia.

There are eleven states in the world, which by reason of their status and qualifications are eligible for admission to the League in accordance with the rules laid down for the purpose in the Covenant but are not yet members of it. They are: Afghanistan, Brazil, Costa Rica, Ecuador, Egypt, Mexico, Nejd, Turkey, Union of

Soviet Socialist Republics, United States of America, Yemen. Some of these, however, are already seriously thinking of joining the League, e.g. Afghanistan, Egypt, and Turkey, and it is hoped that it will not be long before others feel the necessity or desirability to associate themselves with it. Most of them, however, actively participate in several of its activities even as non-members. The United States of America is the most important of them. The Government of the United States has regularly taken part in all disarmament conferences and other social and economic activities of the League. The permanent Court of International Justice has an American judge on its bench. Recently the American Ambassador at Geneva attended, for the first time, the meeting of the Council of the League in connection with the Sino-Japanese dispute. The U. S. A. Government has contributed large sums of money towards the expenses of many international conferences held under the auspices of the League. The Soviet

Government too has participated in many conferences and directly benefitted by the humanitarian and social work of the League. This shows that with the progress of its useful activities the League is attracting the attention of the world, and it is hoped that a time will soon come when all the states of the world will be members of the League bound to each other by ties of brotherhood, and this is bound to result ultimately in permanent peace in the world.

The doors of the League are open even to non-members. There are examples of non-members having elected to refer their disputes to the League and their willingly abiding by the award of the Assembly or the Council in those disputes.

The activities of the League are of a three-fold nature, *viz.* Political, including the prevention of war, Social and Humanitarian, and Economic. This chapter is confined to the narration of the political activities and achievements of the League. The treatment is necessarily brief and deals

with only a few of the illustrative examples of some of the most important activities which have contributed to world's peace by preventing wars.

By Articles 10 and 11 of the Covenant all the Members of the League are required to respect the integrity and political independence of each other and promise to keep friendly relations between themselves. Any member of the League has the right to bring to the attention of the Assembly or the Council any circumstance that is likely to disturb the peace of the world. In that case the Assembly or the Council proceeds to take such measures as are necessary for maintaining peace. Under Articles 12 and 13 the Members agree to abide by the decision of the League through its Council or the Court. Article 16 states that in case any member refuses to abide by the League's decision in any dispute concerning that member the League shall consider that refusal as an act of hostility against itself and call upon all other members to boycott that recalcitrant

state or even to wage war against it, if necessary.

The States Members also agree to reduce their armaments in accordance with the plans prepared by the League. Although disarmament has not been as yet carried out to the desired extent, still many Pacts and Conferences, e. g. the Locarno Pact, the Kellog Pact, and the Washington Treaty and Disarmament Conference have removed a part of the international distrust, and further expansion of armaments has for the time being ceased. This is no small achievement in view of the fact that prior to the establishment of the League all Great Powers of the world were spending vast sums of money on ship-building and other warlike preparations.

Apart from this general attempt at keeping peace, the League has been able to settle several disputes arising between the States Members. Some of these are given below:—

(1) *Aaland Islands*.—This was the first

dispute of its kind settled by the League. It arose out of a quarrel between Sweden and Finland over the possession of the Aaland Islands. The inhabitants of these Islands wanted to be separated from Finland and to be incorporated with Sweden. The Swedish Government, relying on the principle of 'self-determination', naturally encouraged the Islanders in their demand. Finland was not at that time a member of the League. Great Britain, fearing that the quarrel might disturb the peace of Northern Europe, brought the matter to the notice of the Council of the League, under Article 11 of the Covenant. The Council appointed an International Commission of three members to inquire into the matter on the spot. After the Commission had reported the Council decided that the sovereignty over the Aaland Islands belonged undoubtedly to Finland. In order to ensure peace in future, the Council decided that the Islands should not be kept fortified, and to assure the welfare and prosperity of the Islanders the Council

entered into a convention signed on behalf of the British Empire, Denmark, Finland, Italy, Poland, France, Sweden, Latvia, and Germany. This decision was accepted both by Sweden and Finland on April 6, 1922.

(2) *Poland-Lithuania*.—In September 1920 arose a quarrel between Poland and Lithuania, which threatened the peace of Europe. When the new State of Poland was formed by the Peace Treaty of 1919, its eastern boundary was left undecided. Poland claimed possession of the district of Vilna, while Lithuania, another small state, disputed the claim. Poland referred the matter to the Council of the League. Both Poland and Lithuania agreed to observe neutrality. But a Polish general led his army into Vilna. This was considered an act of hostility. Poland disowned the general. The Council fixed a provisional boundary which was accepted by both the states. This averted the danger of immediate war. For several years the different aspects of the question came before the

successive Councils and each time the Council coped with the situation.

(3) *Upper Silesia*.—Upper Silesia is a mining district, whose possession is a distinct economic gain to any country. When in 1919 the Inter-allied Commission proceeded to fix the boundary line between Poland and Germany a serious difficulty arose about Upper Silesia. The Commission held a plebiscite to know the wishes of the people. The result was that 471,000 votes were polled in favour of Poland and 716,000 in favour of Germany. The Commission accordingly gave the portions that had voted for Germany to Germany, and the rest to Poland, and thus fixed the political frontier between these two countries. But the economic condition of Upper Silesia did not permit an easy division on the political basis. Therefore, the Council recommended the appointment of a mixed commission of equal number of Germans and Poles with a president of another nationality to see that the political barrier does not interfere with trade, for a period

of 15 years. Any disputes arising between the two Governments within this period are to be decided by the Council. This settlement was accepted by Germany and Poland (June 1922) and thus the dispute ended.

(4) *Greece-Italy*.—In August 1923 when a commission of the conference of Ambassadors was fixing the boundary line between Albania and Greece, the Italian member of the commission was murdered on the Greek side of the border. Italy put the responsibility for the crime on the Greek Government, and among other demands included the payment of an indemnity. This was rejected by Greece. Italy thereupon occupied the Greek island of Corfu and during the process some 20 refugees lost their lives. Greece appealed to the League, but Italy claimed that the matter should be decided by the Conference of Ambassadors. The Assembly, which was at that time (September) in session, proposed some terms and sent the same to the Conference of Ambassadors at Paris, which accepted in

general the settlement thus suggested. According to it Greece paid the indemnity demanded by Italy, and Italy evacuated Corfu. Thus was peacefully settled a dispute which was likely to break the peace of Southern Europe.

(5) *Iraq Boundary*.—When the Treaty of Lausanne was signed with Turkey on July 24, 1923, it was decided that Great Britain and Turkey would settle the boundary line between Turkey and Iraq, by mutual agreement, but if they failed to do so within 9 months, the matter would be referred to the Council of the League. As the two powers could not reach an agreement, the Council took up the matter in 1924. The question was examined and the Council fixed the boundary line passing through Mosul, an oil district, on December 16, 1925. Some time after, further negotiations between Turkey and Britain resulted in a small cession to Turkey and in this way a final decision acceptable to both parties was made.

These disputes are some of the impor-

tant ones decided by the League. If the League had failed to bring about settlement, any one of them might have resulted in the outbreak of war, so that during these few years of its existence the League has successfully intervened in international disputes and justified its existence as a peace-making institution.

The Mandates System.—Another important part of the political work of the League is that contained in the mandates system. After the War, Germany lost all her colonies and overseas possessions. Similarly, on the dismemberment of the Turkish Empire some of her possessions in Asia went out of the Empire. Article 22 of the Covenant of the League dealt with the future governments of these territories. They were to be called mandated territories, to be entrusted to some of the most advanced States Members of the League, for better administration. These mandated territories were divided into three classes:—

A. Class, consisting of those territories of the Turkish Empire, which, though

capable of an independent existence needed guidance and advice during a certain period. According to this arrangement, Iraq and Palestine were given to Great Britain and Syria to France, in consideration of the wishes of the people of these territories. That the mandatory powers did not look to their own interests but gave such advice as was really necessary for the political and economic progress of the territories entrusted to their care, has been amply shown by France and Great Britain. France has considerably improved the condition of Syria since it was entrusted to it in 1922. Great Britain has discharged its trust in Iraq so well that this small country has now been granted complete independence by the treaty signed between Great Britain and Iraq in 1927. Great Britain has also promised to support the candidature of Iraq for admission as a member of the League of Nations in 1932.

B. Class comprised the German possessions and colonies in East and Central

Africa. These were divided between France, Great Britain and Belgium. The conditions of mandate are that the territories will be administered on behalf of the League by these mandatories in the following manner:—

- (i) There will be freedom of conscience and religion subject to maintenance of public order and morals.
- (ii) Such abuses as slave trade, traffic in arms and liquor will be stopped.
- (iii) No military fortifications or naval bases shall be established and except for police purposes the natives shall not be given military training.
- (iv) There shall be equal opportunities for the trade and commerce of other Members of the League.
- (v) The territories shall be so administered as to enable the native population to progress in every way.

The mandatory powers are all administering, on these lines, the territories assigned to them.

C. Class, comprised those island possessions of Germany in the Pacific Ocean and German South West Africa, whose population is very sparse and which are not capable of an independent existence due to their backwardness. They were allowed to be governed as integral parts of the territories of the mandatories. German South-West Africa was given to the Union of South Africa, and the Pacific Islands were divided between Australia, British Empire and Japan.

To look after the administration of these mandated territories the League has appointed a Permanent Mandates Commission consisting of ten members who are representatives of the States that are not mandatory powers. These representatives hold no posts under the governments of their countries and are, therefore, free to watch the real interests of the mandated territories, unhampered by any other motives. The

Commission calls for annual reports from the mandatories regarding the administration of the mandated territories under them. The Commission considers the reports, gives its opinion, may call for further reports from the mandatories and suggest lines of improvement in the administration. In actual working the Commission has justified its existence and as a result of its watchfulness the annual reports submitted by the mandatories are every time becoming more voluminous in view of the increasing demand on behalf of the Commission on various subjects.

The Commission can receive petitions from associations and bodies in the mandated territories, against the administration of the mandatories. The quarrels between the Moslems and the Jews in Palestine, in recent years, attracted the attention of the Commission which has influenced the course of policy adopted by Great Britain. Even in the case of C. Class mandates, which mean practical annexation by the mandatories, the Commission has been vigilant in

watching the interests of the native population.

Protection of Minorities.—After the conclusion of the Great War and as a result of the dismemberment of the Austro-Hungarian and Turkish Empires and reduction of the German Empire, several new states were created in Europe. The territories of some of the old states were also increased. These new states and the acquisitions by the old states contained peoples of other nationalities who were smaller in number than the people forming the bulk of the population in those countries. For example, there were Hungarian farmers in Roumania, some Poles in Lithuania, Jews in Hungary, Germans in Czechoslovakia and Musalmans in Jugoslavia. As the League guaranteed the frontiers of these States, it was considered proper that for the peaceful administration of those States the League itself should protect the rights and privileges of the minorities, lest at some future time the majorities should tyrannise over them. These minorities were religious, racial and

linguistic, that is, those professing religions different from that of the bulk of the population of those States, of people belonging to a different race or speaking different languages.

The League laid down certain principles for the protection of these minorities which were included in the treaties concluded with those States. Some of those principles may be summed up as follows:—

- (i) Protection of life and liberty without distinction of birth, nationality, language, race or religion.
- (ii) All inhabitants to be free to profess any faith or religion subject to keeping of public order and public morals. They will have the right to change their religion.
- (iii) Equal enjoyment of civil and political rights without any distinction of creed or religion.
- (iv) People to be free to use any language in their private inter-

course, commerce, religion, press or meetings.

- (v) Facilities to be given in public schools for imparting education through the medium of their own language.
- (vi) All people will be free to establish their own institutions, religious or educational, with the provision that minorities will have due share in the public funds.

The importance of the inclusion of these principles in the treaties with the new States and such other States as have promised to follow them, is a very great step towards keeping political peace in Europe.* History is full of the records of ill-treatment of minorities, religious, linguistic and racial. Several wars were due to this bad treatment. If the Allied Powers and the Original Members

* The following States are under obligations to observe the principles for the protection of minorities in their territories :—
 Albania, Austria, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Free City of Danzig, Estonia, Finland, Greece, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Roumania, Turkey and Yugoslavia

of the League had not taken these steps, it is certain that throughout the States of Europe there would have arisen disputes of a far reaching character.

The treaties with these States contain provisions regarding petitions which the minorities may send to the League in case they find that their rights are not protected. Subject to the following conditions the minorities, through their associations or individuals, can petition the League:—

- (1) The petition should indicate the name or names of the petitioners and should not be anonymous, and it should be forwarded to the League.
- (2) It should not be written in violent language, but should be properly worded.
- (3) It should be made for getting protection of rights and not for secession from the State.

When a petition is received, it is considered by the President assisted by two other members of the Council of the League.

Enquiries are made and in case it is found that the grievances of the petitioners are real, steps are taken to protect their rights and the States concerned are compelled to accept and abide by the decision of the Council. Several petitions have been so far received and they have been considered and decided by the Council in a satisfactory manner. It is hoped that the principles underlying the working of the protection of minorities by the League will be given consideration by other States not only in Europe but also in Asia and Africa, who have more or less the same problems.

Administration of Certain Territories.—When at the end of the War the peace treaty with Germany was signed, it was decided to take away the Saar Basin, a mining district, from Germany and give it to France with full control to this country over the coal mines in the Basin. This was done partly to compensate France for the destruction of her Northern coal mines by Germany during the War and partly in payment of reparation due from Germany to France. The

area of this Basin is 700 sq. miles with a population of 800,000 composed entirely of Germans. Under the terms of the treaty the district is to enjoy the same German laws and customs etc. as it did while under Germany. The Council of the League appoints a Governing Commission of five, consisting of one French, one inhabitant of the Saar and three other representatives of the Members of the League other than France. This Commission is, in fact, the Cabinet of the Saar. It is assisted by a Technical Commission of eight, and an Advisory Council of Thirty members elected by the inhabitants of the district. These two bodies were created by a decree of the Governing Commission itself.

There is a Railway Defence Force of men drawn from the French, Belgian and British forces to keep order and look after the defence of the railways which are used by the French for carrying coal from the mines. Although France was given absolute control of the mines, she was not to govern the district politically. It has also

been provided that in 1935 a plebiscite will be taken of the voters whose list was prepared in September, 1922, by an official of the Council of the League. This list is secret and is kept in the custody of the League. But on account of the whole population of the district being German, it can safely be predicted that in 1935, as a result of the plebiscite, the Saar Basin would go back to Germany.

The inhabitants of the district can appeal to the Council of the League against the orders of the Governing Commission. This right has been freely used by the citizens. The administration of the Saar by the League has solved an important political point.

Another territory for the administration of which the League is responsible is the Free City of Danzig, with an area of 700 sq. miles and a population of 350,000. Before the War, Danzig was an important port of Germany on the Baltic. In the Treaty of Versailles, due to the creation of an independent State of Poland, this port

have been the possible causes of war such as the protection of minorities, the relations between advanced and backward nations, the purely political boundary questions, commercial matters, labour questions, tariffs etc. But it is to be regretted, however, that it has not decided problems of emigration and immigration and questions of equality of status between large and small states, which may be thorny questions for the future peace of the world.

CHAPTER IV

Ten Years of the League of Nations

(Economic, Social and Humanitarian Work)

The establishment of universal peace cannot be achieved merely by limiting armaments or by providing for the settlement of political disputes. This is only the negative side of the work. As wars are very often the result of economic causes, or again of lack of proper mutual understanding and sympathies between peoples of different countries, the League of Nations has been busy in improving the economic relations of various states and in creating permanent conditions of international sympathies through its social and humanitarian activities. If nations are brought together, in times of peace, to help each other in social and humanitarian work, it is more

than likely they will desist from going to war unless it is unavoidable.

Article 23 of the Covenant of the League lays down that "the Members of the League.

- (a) will endeavour to secure and maintain fair and humane conditions of labour for men, women, and children, both in their own countries and in all countries in which their commercial and industrial relations extend, and for that purpose will establish and maintain the necessary international organisations ;
- (b) undertake to secure just treatment of the native inhabitants of territories under their control ;
- (c) will entrust the League with the general supervision over the execution of agreements with regard to the traffic in women and children, and the traffic in opium and other dangerous drugs ;
- (d)

(e)

(f) will endeavour to take steps in matters of international concern for the prevention and control of disease.

This chapter deals with some of the activities and achievements of the League in the field of economic, social and humanitarian work.

Economic Work.—At the end of the War, Europe faced a very great economic crisis. In every country millions of men were out of employment. During the War, there was ceaseless activity in the factories which had been opened to manufacture war materials. After the War was over, these factories had to be closed; the return of soldiers and the fighting nations' resumption of pre-war work presented new problems. The Treaty of Versailles had changed the boundaries of many old states like Austria, Hungary and Germany, and several new states were created. At that time the outbreak of famine in several parts of Europe increased

the economic troubles which these states had to face.

The Governments of Austria and Germany tried to meet the economic difficulties by coining enormous quantities of paper money in return of which they could not give silver or gold coins. The result was that the value of their paper money fell with alarming rapidity. Before the War, the value of one German Mark was equal to about ten annas, but after the War it fell successively and reached such a depth that several millions of German Marks could be purchased for fifteen rupees or one pound. Similarly, the value of Austrian paper money fell enormously.

To help the nations out of this distress and to provide for their future co-operation in economic matters the League of Nations at once took steps to convene an International Financial Congress which met at Brussels in 1920. Representatives from 39 states attended the Congress. They unanimously passed several resolutions suggesting to various nations the measures they

should adopt to improve their financial conditions. Since then the League has regularly summoned economic conferences and has established committees to deal with such matters as international loans, means of international communications and transit whereby several troubles of many countries have been removed, and many a problem which might have resulted in hostilities between two neighbouring states has been settled by international co-operation.

Before the War, there were several disputes between various nations, particularly in Europe, over the questions of communications and transport. For example, Russia was always trying to gain control over the Baltic and the Black seas for her trade. Similarly, states like Switzerland, which have no outlet to the sea could not trade with other countries without passing their goods over the railways of the neighbouring countries. After the War, several new inland states were created which were faced with similar difficulty. The League of nations appointed a General Conference

to deal with these matters. In 1921 the Conference met at Barcelona and in 1923 at Geneva. It passed several resolutions laying down the principles which govern the relations of states regarding the transit of goods through each other's territories. It is unnecessary to state all these principles in a small book like this. It is sufficient that, since then, international co-operation in this field, particularly in Europe, has been successful in solving many problems. The application of these principles guarantees free use of maritime ports to inland states.

Like other countries, Austria was also thrown into a great economic distress at the close of the War. She was on the point of starvation and was almost threatened with a revolution and the overthrow of its government. The Austrian Government appealed to other nations to save her population from death. Some of these contributed 75 million pounds which enabled Austria to keep alive for the time being. But it did not solve her problem. In 1922, the Austrian Govern-

ment appealed to the League for help. The League asked its Economic Committee to report on the subject. After the receipt of the report which recommended a large international loan to Austria under certain conditions, the League appointed a Commissioner General. This high official in consultation with the Committee of Control appointed by the States that guaranteed the loan, *viz.* Great Britain, France, Italy, and Czechoslovakia, supervised the arrangements. In a few months the economic conditions of Austria improved, the number of unemployed fell and the country was saved from a perilous situation which was bound to react upon the other states in Europe.

Help to Refugees and Prisoners.—At the end of the War, a very serious problem confronted several European States. It was the problem of prisoners of war or refugees who had been forcibly removed from their homes and imprisoned or confined in foreign countries. For example, there were nearly 200,000 prisoners of war confined in Siberia and a still larger

number belonging, in all, to about 26 states in other countries. It was not an easy task to arrange to send them back to their homes by making necessary arrangements for passports and providing money and other facilities for their journey. And yet it was feared that if they were not returned to their countries of origin, their economic distress would create a serious situation. Accordingly the League entrusted this work to Dr. Nansen, the famous Arctic explorer, by appointing him as its High Commissioner. Dr. Nansen was given a large sum of money, and after working for over two years he succeeded in completing his noble mission in Siberia at a cost of nearly 400,000 pounds.

There were nearly 200,000 Russian refugees scattered all over Europe, who were on account of their poverty, unable to return to their homes. This work was also given to Dr. Nansen who, by his continuous efforts, accomplished the task with success. Since then whenever there is the problem of refugees in any state in

Europe, we find Dr. Nansen's name associated with it. Such has been the success of this servant of humanity that a portrait of this High Commissioner, commonly known as the Nansen stamp, has been placed on sale to interest the general public in this humanitarian work of helping the refugees. The proceeds from the sales of the stamps are added to the funds raised for the work. The Red Cross Societies, and other associations and individuals have also continuously helped in this noble work.

Another important and similar problem arose in Asia Minor after the defeat of Greece by Turkey. There were hundreds of thousands of Greek refugees in Asia Minor. When the treaty of Lausanne was signed, it was agreed that these refugees would be compulsorily removed from Turkey to Greece. But this was not an easy task to do. It involved nearly 150,000 Greek nationals. At that time Greece was passing through an economic crisis. Even her political condition was

unstable and it was feared that the Greek Government might fall any moment. While Greece was willing to have all her refugees settled within her own territories, she needed a large sum of money to enable her to do it. Voluntary contributions did not go far. Greece expressed her desire to raise a loan for the purpose. But no nation was prepared to advance any loan while the Greek Government's future was uncertain. In March 1923, the situation became very serious, when it was announced that the American Red Cross Society which was helping 500,000 persons would discontinue its activities on June 30.

At the request of the Greek Government for help in this distress the Council of the League appointed a Financial Committee which studied the situation on the spot and submitted a report. On September 29, 1923, the Greek representatives on the Committee signed a protocol approved by the Council of the League. A Greek refugee Settlement Commission was established to look after the work. Henry Morgenthau,

sometime American Ambassador at Constantinople, was appointed chairman of the Commission. The Council sanctioned the raising of a large loan under certain conditions. The Greek Government accepted the conditions and the work of settling the refugees on vast tracts of land granted by that Government began. It was a very productive scheme which resulted in the cultivation of large tracts of deserted plains. By the end of 1928, nearly 171,000 families had been settled on the land, and 76,000 houses had been built for them. When the work of the Commission had been accomplished, all its activities were, by agreement, transferred to the Greek Government on December 31, 1930. In this way, the League helped Greece at a critical time, and by its humane work succeeded in undoing a part of the mischief wrought by the War.

In June 1926 again the Bulgarian Government made a request to the League for assistance in settling the Bulgarian refugees. The Financial Committee of the League studied the question and submitted its

report. On September 8, 1926, a protocol, as approved by the Council of the League, was signed by Bulgaria. The Council appointed a Commission to report every three months on the progress of the work, and to control the proceeds of a large loan granted to the Bulgarian Government on certain conditions. In 1928, an earthquake damaged the work. But upto the end of 1929 the settlement work had considerably advanced. Nearly 26,125 families had been settled on a large area. Thousands of houses had been built for them. Nearly 5,045 horses, 11,164 oxen and cows, and 2,343 buffaloes had been distributed among these families. Drinking water supply had been improved, marshes had been drained and rail-roads constructed. In this way, the Bulgarian Government has successfully solved a very serious problem with international help and co-operation under the aegis of the League.

In 1931, the floods in Chinese rivers devastated large tracts of land and rendered thousands of families homeless. Thousands

of persons also died. The Chinese Government did all it could for helping the flood-stricken people. But the work was too great for the Government to do it alone. An appeal was made to the League. Accordingly with international help the Chinese Government succeeded in mitigating the sufferings of these families and in checking the outbreak of epidemics which usually visit flooded tracts. Sir B. L. Mitter, the Indian delegate to the League, made a sympathetic appeal for help to an Asiatic nation, which was highly appreciated.

These examples of some of the activities of the League dictated the necessity of establishing an organisation of the League to deal with such matters. The President of the Italian Red Cross Society proposed to the League that for mutual assistance in giving relief to peoples stricken by disaster, an international organisation be established. In 1924, the Assembly requested the Council to define the scope of such an organisation. After receiving the report of a committee appointed for the purpose, a draft statute

was prepared. It was circulated to various governments for their suggestions. A Conference was then summoned in which delegates from 41 countries sat. On July 12, 1927, an International Relief Union was established. Each State makes a contribution in a certain proportion and these contributions together with voluntary subscriptions by philanthropic associations and individuals form a fund for relief work in every country in the world, in time of disaster. The Union, without waiting for appeals to the public, at once renders first aid in the affected territories and organises the work of all other relief societies, particularly the Red Cross Societies. These activities of the League are not meant for any particular country or continent. They concern the welfare of the world and this service of humanity is a great and noble object which deserves the active co-operation and sympathy of all people without distinction of creed or race.

The Health Organisation.

We all know that at the end of the

War, Russia was visited by such epidemics as typhus and relapsing fever, which spread into Poland also. Influenza of a virulent type visited many other countries in the world including India. Millions of persons died of these diseases which were the after-effects of the War. The founders of the League had happily realised the fact that to fight these epidemics successfully was a task which could be best done only by international co-operation. They had inserted a clause to that effect in Article 23 of the Covenant of the League. Therefore, the Council of the League summoned a Conference, in the beginning of 1920, to organise the Health Department of the League. The Universal Sanitary Convention (signed at Rome in December 1907) had already established the Office International d'Hygiene Publique with a membership of 33 states including the United States of America, with its seat at Paris. The Conference desired this organisation to become the nucleus of the League's Health Department. But, the United States of

America, while not objecting to allow this institution to help the League, opposed its amalgamation with the League.

Therefore, the Council of the League established its own provisional Health Committee on June 22, 1921. Later, the League established its Permanent Health Organisation in 1923 after the scheme had been approved by the Council and the Assembly.

This International Health Organisation comprises :—

(i) An Advisory Council, which is formed by the Office International d'Hygiene Publique ; (2) A Health Committee, with its head quarters at Geneva, and (3) A Secretariat, to assist the Organisation.

All the States Members of the League as well as other states such as the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics and the United States of America, have joined the Organisation irrespective of any political considerations.

The functions of the Health Organisation are threefold, *viz.* (i) to assist those

individuals who are carrying on researches into the causes of epidemics, (ii) to collect and disseminate all useful information regarding health and sanitation, and (iii) to render active help in combating the outbreak of epidemics in any part of the world. Several Committees have been appointed by the Organisation to tour the parts affected by particular epidemics, to study the causes of those diseases and to suggest practical ways to combat them. For example, there is the Malaria Commission which has visited all important tropical countries where the outbreaks of malaria cause thousands of deaths every year. This Commission has also visited India where we find malaria breaking out every year. It is expected that the report of this Commission, when it is issued, will help the tropical countries to stamp out this disease and save the lives of unfortunate victims. Similarly, there is the Tuberculosis Committee which is investigating the causes of this fatal disease.

The Organisation sends useful informa-

tion to help the various countries in their health and sanitation work. Weekly reports are telegraphed, intimating the total number of deaths from plague, cholera, small pox, and similar other diseases in all parts near the known centres. There is also an eastern station set up by the League at Singapore, which on receiving the necessary information from the neighbouring 35 ports broadcasts all the urgent information to 140 ports. Since 1925, the Health Organisation has been issuing its Annual Book containing all useful information and statistics. The health departments of several countries are being reorganised on modern lines, with the help and co-operation of the Health Organisation of the League. The League has arranged conferences of health officers of different countries, who, in addition to jointly discussing the problems of health and sanitation of their own countries, actually undergo specialist training at Geneva. This interchange of officials is going a great way in increasing international sympathies. The Govern-

ment of the United Provinces sent medical men, e. g. Dr. Souza who went to Geneva and Japan as the representative of India at these conferences.

The League has been giving active help to all countries whose own organisations prove too weak to combat diseases whenever there is an outbreak of epidemics. As has already been mentioned, in Russia broke out typhus and relapsing fever early in 1920. The disease spread into Poland and it was feared that the movement of refugees would carry the infection to other countries also. Russia approached the League for help. A Commission was at once appointed by the League to deal with the situation. This Commission visited Poland and Russia and by raising cotributions from other States distributed medicines, started sanitation centres, supplied beds and other medical necessities to hospitals in Russia and Poland, and organised the inspection of centres of health and sanitation. In this way the Commission succeeded in checking the epidemics from

spreading to other parts of Europe. Similarly the Greek refugees in Asia Minor presented a serious problem. The Greek Government requested the Epidemic Commission of the League to help it in preventing the outbreak of epidemic disease among the Greek refugees. The League sent two of the members of the Commission to help the Greek Government. As a result nearly 550,000 refugees were vaccinated against such diseases as cholera, enteric fever and small pox. Again in 1921 the Russian Government had to confront another trouble. A terrible famine broke out, which weakened her people and diseases spread all over Russia. It was feared that the refugees who were victims to these diseases and who were now returning to their homes in the neighbouring countries would spread the diseases in other places. Consequently, at the request of Poland a Health Conference was summoned at Warsaw on March 20, 1922, which was attended by the representatives of 27 countries. As a result of the labours of this conference,

various measures were taken to stamp out the diseases, a task which was too great for any one country to do but which with international co-operation was successfully done. At the request of the Chinese Government the Health Organisation of the League has helped China in combating the diseases that broke out in the flood-stricken areas in the basin of the river Yangtsekiang. Thousands of people died in this flood and their unremoved dead bodies and the rotting of the crops poisoned the atmosphere. This resulted in the outbreak of epidemics. But with the League's help China mitigated the sufferings of her population. China has also opened the Central Field Health Station at Nanking, and is combating cholera and small pox in the Shanghai area with the help of the League.

It is hoped that in future the Health Organisation of the League would render very great services to the cause of health and sanitation of peoples of various countries. Almost all countries are cooperating with the League in this noble task. Very recently

the Government of Brazil (South America) has offered to establish at Rio De Janerio an international centre for the study of leprosy, a very great curse. This centre will be placed at the disposal of the League. In Argentine Republic, Brazil, Chile and Uruguay infant mortality is very great. Consequently an international conference was held at Lima in July 1930, to study the causes, and its results have helped these countries much. These are a few of the many activities of the League, by which its Health Organisation is serving humanity.

Prevention of Traffic in Opium and other Dangerous Drugs.

We all know that during the War nations were using every means to destroy each other. They even poisoned food, water and atmosphere, by using different poisonous substances. In fact the very remembrance of those horrors now makes one's hair stand. After the madness of those days had gone out of their minds, it was considered necessary to make efforts towards preventing the use of not only such poisons during wars

but even the personal consumption of opium and other dangerous drugs by people who were addicted to their use. Opium may be, perhaps is, useful as a medicine when used in certain specified ways and quantities, but the habit of eating and smoking this drug as also cocaine positively injures the health of the users. In China this habit had increased to such an extent that as early as 1909, at the invitation of the United States of America an international conference was summoned at Shanghai to devise means to control the use of opium in that country. Thirteen nations attended the conference, the chief of them being U. S. A., China, Siam, Japan and Persia. The conference condemned the use of opium as prevalent in China and elsewhere and laid down certain lines along which the process of stopping it should be carried on. They also promised every assistance to China to stop opium eating in her territories.

Three years later in 1912, the United States of America summoned another international conference which met at The

Hague and was attended by 40 states. The conference had for its object the limiting of the production of opium and coca leaves and control of the use of such dangerous drugs as morphine and cocaine. It drew up a convention to control the distribution of raw opium and to limit the use of other dangerous drugs to medical and other lawful purposes only. It was agreed that as soon as the governments of the states, who were represented at the conference, had ratified the convention, it should come into force. Only a few states had sent their ratifications when the War broke out in 1914, which stopped the work for a number of years. At the end of the War, the matter again came to the notice of nations, which found a place in Article 23 of the Covenant.

The League convened two Opium Conferences in 1924-25. The Second of these conferences drew up another Convention on the lines of that drawn up in 1912 at The Hague, limiting the manufacture and production of opium only to the quantity

required for medicinal and scientific purposes. This Convention was signed by the representatives of 41 States and formed the starting point of the League's activity in this field. It contains seven chapters dealing with the definitions of raw opium, medicinal opium, morphine, coca leaf, cocaine and other dangerous drugs. The parties to the Convention undertake to limit the production and export of raw opium and coca leaves. They agree to control the manufacture of dangerous drugs for medicinal purposes, by passing necessary laws. In accordance with the provisions of the Convention the Council of the League appointed in December 1928, a Permanent Central Board of eight persons who do not hold any salaried office under their Governments. This Board calls for annual reports from all the contracting parties regarding their requirements of opium and other dangerous drugs for medicinal purposes in their territories. It also collects other useful statistics. All these are circulated to the governments concerned. In this way the use of

"The new Convention covers a far larger number of drugs than preceding Conventions; it brings codeine under control, whereas for many years morphine converted into codeine has to some extent escaped supervision." It is gratifying that several countries have expressed their willingness to stop illicit traffic in these dangerous drugs and it is hoped that time is not far when the use of poisonous substances will cease not only in wars but even in peace times the civil population in every country will look upon these drugs which ruin their health and lower their morals, as if they should be shunned.

Traffic in Women and Children.

Another evil, the stopping of which the League has taken in hand is the Traffic in Women and Children. This is an old evil. People used to sell girls and children, the former for prostitution and immoral purposes, and the latter for slavery and forced labour, by taking them to foreign countries. Many countries realised the harmful consequences of such traffic which could not be

accordance with one of the clauses of Article 23 of the Covenant, set up a Committee for preventing the traffic in women and children. In 1921, this Committee drew up a Convention which has so far been signed by 38 states in addition to dependencies, protectorates and mandated territories. The signatories agree to establish suitable agencies for stopping this evil. They have arranged for watching the secret activities of those engaged in this business. Arrangements have also been made at the ports to look into the immigration and emigration of women and children from and to foreign countries. In this way several obstacles have been placed in the path of those persons who are engaged in the traffic.

In July 1923 the Council of the League appointed a Committee to investigate into the extent and scope of the traffic in women and children and to find out the secret societies that were carrying on this traffic. Upto 1928 the Committee visited 28 countries and 112 cities, and interviewed 6,5000 persons of whom 5,000 were connected with

commercialised prostitution. In its report of 1928 the Committee recommended that the inquiry should be extended further and more countries should be visited. The Assembly accepted the proposal and in 1930 many countries in Asia were visited. The Committee has collected very useful information which will enable Governments to fight the evil more effectively and with less difficulty than they could do otherwise.

The fate of children of foreign nationals who were illegitimate or minors or who were enticed away for employment in foreign countries, was still worse. Therefore the noble work of rescuing them and looking after their welfare was considered important. The fifth Assembly (1924) invited the States Members to agree to the following Declaration of Geneva.

“By the present Declaration of the Rights of the Child, commonly known as the Declaration of Geneva, men and women of all nations, recognising that mankind owes to the child the best that it has to give, declare or accept it as their duty that,

the child's mind at a time when he should be kept away from these ideas. Accordingly, some countries have created zones round about their schools, penalising the selling of such pictures or literature within those zones. As many as 43 States have signed a convention to stop the publication of this sort of literature.

In short, nations are now aroused to the consciousness of doing all in their power to bring about international co-operation for the welfare of children.

Intellectual Co-operation.

We all know that most of the troubles in the world arise on account of misunderstandings. The removal of these misunderstandings, therefore averts troubles and results in creating mutual sympathies between individuals or nations. This can be done only by communicating the correct views of one party to the other. Often times the teachings of men who have risen to fame, have determined the course of history of nations, and have often led to great changes and revolutions. Teachings

of men like Rousseau and Jefferson led to the outbreak of the French Revolution and the War of American Independence. Such writings as 'East is East and West is West', create not sympathies but hatred. In fact it is now being increasingly realised that intellectual coöperation is very necessary to maintain good relations between different nations. The League has undertaken this work with earnestness. The importance of this intellectual cooperation between nations has been very well emphasized in the sixth report of the International Committee of Intellectual Cooperation. "Without an intellectual *rapprochement* of the nations, without good mutual understanding and without concerted action to improve by mutual assistance and cooperation the conditions governing the thought, scientific work and the education of the young, it is to be feared that the future of the League would be uncertain and the efforts we are elsewhere making to establish durable peace would be largely wasted."

To bring about this cooperation the

League has established the International Committee of Intellectual Cooperation, whose function is to see that the output of the labours of scientists, historians, mathematicians and men of letters—which knows no political barriers, and is therefore for the benefit of mankind as a whole—may spread in all countries. The Committee consists of 16 members eminent in letters, science and art belonging to different nations.

“ The principal work of this Committee is that of developing the interchange of knowledge and ideas among peoples and improving the conditions of intellectual work. ” The Committee collects useful information regarding the intellectual development of the various countries, supplies necessary information to those who are engaged in the pursuit of knowledge, and through its sub-committee on University Relations facilitates the exchange of professors and students between different countries. It assists the states whose intellectual life has received a setback due

to the War, in their educational work, e.g. it has assisted Austria, Albania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Esthonia, Hungary, Lithuania, Poland, Roumania, and Jugoslavia, by means of scholarships, gifts of books and laboratory equipment, and even by giving financial help to poor students and professors in their pursuit of knowledge.

At the request of the Chinese Government to depute "advisers to assist the development of the Chinese educational system and facilitate the intercourse between the centres of intellectual activity in China and abroad", the Committee has recently sent four distinguished educational experts to Nanking. These experts are helping China to improve her educational system.

During the recent earthquakes in Japan, several libraries were destroyed. The Committee has helped Japan with the gift of books to re-establish the libraries.

The Swiss Government is organising an international exhibition of arts on a large scale at Berne in 1934. The Committee

has agreed, with the approval of the Assembly, to take an active part in this exhibition.

India, too, has shown her interest in this Committee. Two of her illustrious sons, Sir Jagdish Chandra Bose and Sir Radha Krishnan, have been members of the Committee, the latter still being on it.

This intellectual co-operation between nations with different cultures, traditions and civilisations is bound to obliterate the barriers that have so far kept the nations apart.

PART TWO

INDIA IN THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

CHAPTER V

India in the League till 1931

By virtue of her being a signatory to the Peace Treaty signed at the conclusion of the War, India became an original member of the League of Nations. There were 29 States which had signed the Peace Treaty, and India was one of them. While the Peace Terms were being discussed between the various States concerned, India was represented at these important discussions by Mr. E. S. Montagu, the then Secretary of State for India, and His Highness Maharaja Sir Ganga Singh Bahadur, G.C.S.I., G.C.V.O., the ruler of Bikanir.

India's membership of the League during these ten years has affected her politically, socially and economically. We shall take up these points in this chapter.

Political.—Ever Since 1907, when the Imperial Conference held in London, for the first time passed a resolution admitting India to the membership of the Conference, India's representatives have been taking an active part in all discussions at the Conference wherein all subjects relating to British foreign policy and common Dominion affairs are discussed. Before 1907, the Imperial Conferences were held without any representative of India being invited to attend them, as India was considered a pure dependency without any right to have a say in matters affecting the Empire of which she formed a part. But after 1907 there was some change in this view of India's position inside the Empire. She was also represented at the Imperial War Conference. She had made tremendous sacrifices during the War. Although the War was confined mainly to Europe and India had no fear of any direct invasion by Germany or her allies, she responded to the call of Britain and gladly voted large sums of money and sent over a million soldiers to fight, for the

first time in Europe, though not for the first time on behalf of the Empire. The bravery of her soldiers who fought in France, Mesopotamia and Egypt attracted the admiration of the world, particularly of the British statesmen.

In these circumstances India was allowed to take an active part in all negotiations for peace. She had made sacrifices for protecting the rights of other nations, and it was in the fitness of things that she should no longer be denied the right to have her say in all international affairs. This important departure in British Foreign Policy, so far as India was concerned, completely changed the international position of this country. Article 1 of the Covenant of the League of Nations lays down in clause 2, that "Any fully self-governing State, Dominion or Colony not named in the Annex may become a Member of the League if its admission is agreed to by two-third of the Assembly, provided that it shall give effective guarantees of its sincere intentions to observe its international

obligations, and shall accept such regulations as may be prescribed by the League in regard to its military, naval and air forces and armaments." Judged in the light of this clause, India cannot claim to be a member of the League as it is not a fully self-governing State or dominion. Though she has been promised the same status inside the British Commonwealth of Nations as that of any other self-governing dominion, e.g. Canada, Australia, or New Zealand, she is at the present time ruled by Britain. If, therefore, India had not become a member of the League at the time the League was established, by virtue of her being a signatory to the Peace Treaty, she would have remained outside this important international body for a long time. Fortunately under clause one of Article 1 of the Covenant, all the signatories of the Peace Treaty were made original members of the League without any conditions of membership other than that of accepting the terms of the Covenant. And as India was one of the signatories, named in the Annex, she

ipso facto became a member of the League.

There is no member of the League, except India, which is not a fully self-governing country. Out of the 54 States Members of the League India is, therefore, the only member with equal rights like any other State Member, including France, Great Britain, Germany, or Japan, to participate in all international matters within the scope of the League, without being a self-governing country. Yet unlike any of the other States Members, she is the only country denied the right to control her own internal affairs. It is surely a curious phenomenon that a country should have the right to direct, conjointly with others, the common affairs of 54 countries, without the right to govern herself. Looked at from this point of view, India is a political curiosity inside the League.

There are people who say that the League of Nations should try to remove this anomaly of India's international status by securing for her the position of a fully self-governing state or dominion. But they

are mistaken in this view. They do not understand the real position of the League. The League of Nations is not a super State which could dictate to the States Members any thing that is likely to affect the *international* administration. The League is merely a collection of these states in one place only in so far as the directing of the international matters defined in the several Articles of the Covenant is concerned. It has no right to see how these States govern their respective territories or what systems of government they follow. It is for the States Members themselves, individually, to modify or amend their respective systems of government. It is, therefore, for the people of India themselves to bring about any changes in the Government of their country. It must, however, be stated that India's membership of the League is bound to affect the course of her system of government. Britain dare not deny for a long time full self-government to India. And even if, at any time, Great Britain takes up an illogical attitude of refusing to India the right to

govern herself in her own way, it will create a world opinion against Britain. No wonder, therefore, that all British parties have been promising, ever since 1917, to give Indians their right to full self-government and during the last decade India has actually taken rapid strides towards this goal. There has been a wonderful political awakening in India; and the creation of a world opinion in favour of India is indirectly, and to a considerable extent, the result of her membership of the League of Nations.

In all Assemblies and Conferences of the League, the representatives of India occupy the same position as those of France, Germany, Italy or Japan. In other words, so far as the affairs of the League are concerned, India does enjoy, even at the present time, the status of a fully self-governing state. This was frankly admitted by Mr. Wedgwood Benn, then Secretary of State for India, when he was questioned in the House of Commons on the Viceroy's Announcement of November 1, 1929, declaring it the policy of His Majesty's

Government to give India the same status inside the British Empire as is enjoyed by any other fully self-governing dominion. Mr. Benn said that even at that time there was 'dominion status in action' citing, in support of his argument, the position of India in the Imperial Conferences and her membership of the League of Nations.

Status and Work of the Indian Delegation.—

As has been mentioned in chapter II, the delegation of each Member State to the Assembly of the League consists of not more than three representatives. The Indian delegation of three has always included one Indian Prince. This has been of great value to India in voicing her opinion in League matters, as a single state, without showing any such political divisions as Indian India and British India. And as the delegation of each state commands only one vote, irrespective of its strength and composition, the Indian Prince delegate has spoken not on behalf of the Indian States alone but on behalf of united India as a whole. We can, therefore, safely say that

in international affairs India has been one political unit. This is undoubtedly a step towards the formation of a federal state in India, consisting of the Indian States and British Indian Provinces. If the Maharaja of Bikanir, for example, attended the Assembly of the League, he has done so as the representative of India as a whole. Therefore, the decisions of the Assembly are as much binding on British India as on the Indian States. The opium and slavery questions are an illustration in point.

Similarly, each Indian delegation has consisted of at least one public man from British India. The rt. hon. V. S. Srinivas Sastri, Sir Ali Imam, Sir C. P. Ramswami Iyer, Sir Mohammed Habibullah have been some of the prominent British India delegates to the League. The Secretary of State for India was in the early years of the League, one of the members of the Indian delegation and also its leader. The Indian delegation protested against this official and non-Indian character of the leadership. The Government yielded to the Indian

demand and, at the Assembly of 1930, Sir Mohammed Habibullah led the deputation, followed by Sir B. L. Mitter in 1931.

The Indian delegation commands the same status in the League as the delegation of any other self-governing dominion. Yet, with this equality of status, one point should be emphasised here. It is that the delegation is appointed by the Government of India, which being not responsible to the Legislature and therefore to the people of India, cannot be said to appoint, in the technical sense, the real representatives of the people. Yet, it must be admitted that the Government has generally taken care to select only such public men of British India as command great respect and confidence in non-official circles on account of their ability, patriotism, and high personal character. With the growth of responsible government in India, the character of the Indian delegation to the League will necessarily undergo change in accordance with the wishes of the people. But so long as the irresponsible government is the appointing

authority, the delegation undoubtedly lacks the national character and does not, to that extent, enjoy the confidence of the nation. There is, however, no check on the delegates and, if they choose to assert their independence during the debates in the Assembly of the League, they can do so by ignoring the instructions given them by the Government of India or the Secretary of State for India.

It has often been observed that though the delegations from the various self-governing dominions in the British Empire and India represent the governments of their respective countries, Britain still occupies a place of pre-eminence and the British delegation generally guides the delegations from the Dominions and India, in practice. We can, therefore, say that the British Empire enters the League as one unit commanding six votes, one vote of each delegation, viz. Great Britain, India, Australia, New Zealand, Canada and South Africa. This is what actually happens in practice. Among these delegations

themselves there is one difference which has partly been mentioned above, viz. that the Indian delegation is in character different from the other five delegations, due to India still being a dependency. Whenever there is any important matter before the Assembly or any decision of the Assembly requiring ratification by the States Members, the British Government ascertains the views of the Governments of the Dominions and India, before sending its formal views to the Assembly of the League. This is the actual practice. The League, however, does not recognise this difference in any way, but it treats Great Britain and India and the Dominions as independent States Members.

Taking all these things into consideration, we can say that the British Empire is itself a small league of nations—call it the British League of Nations, if you please—which enters the League of Nations, with each one of its integral parts as a separate unit. The purpose for which the League of Nations was established, viz. international

co-operation in certain matters, is also the corner stone of the British Commonwealth of Nations, at least in so far as the present aspect of British Imperial policy is concerned. This is clear from the proceedings of the Imperial Conferences (at which India has also been represented since 1907), and the recently passed Statute of West Minister and the holding of such conferences as the one between the representatives of the Indian and South African Governments to settle the Indian question in South Africa.

At the various meetings of the Assembly of the League, the Indian delegates have made very useful contribution to the debates, which has won for them the appreciations of other delegations. In this connection it will not be out of place to mention the names of Sir Ali Imam, Sir B. L. Mitter, and the Rt. Hon. Srinivas Sastri, whose speeches were listened to with respect and admiration in the Assembly.

Labour and Economic Question.—India is mainly an agricultural country. Her yearly

agricultural produce is so large that after feeding her large population there is always a surplus which has to be exported to the countries that need it. In this export, India comes into direct contact with foreign countries. After agriculture come industries and such other departments as railways, where millions of workers earn their livelihood. The necessity of improving the lot of the labouring class is very great. The League of Nations has taken up this work, and happily India has been recognised as one of the eight most important industrial States and has, therefore, been given a permanent seat on the Governing Body of the International Labour Organisation of the League. In all International Labour Conferences four Indian representatives, two representing the Government of India, and two representing the workers and employers respectively, take an active part.

India has ratified almost all the conventions of these Conferences, *viz.* the sixty hour week, fixing the maximum of sixty hours of work per week; prohibition of

employment of children below a certain minimum age in factories ; and a minimum standard of wages, etc. In accordance with these Conventions, the Government of India have enacted necessary legislation to give effect to the reforms contained in them. The Indian Factories Act has also been amended. All this is known to every employee in a workshop or railway, who is now able to understand what good the Geneva Convention has done for him.

The work of the Indian Delegation to the International Labour Conference has been appreciated by all States Members, so much so that at the session of 1931, Sir Atul Chandra Chatterjee was elected chairman of the Permanent Committee of the International Labour Organisation. India's participation in this International Organisation promises to be of great good for the poor working classes in this country.

Besides labour and agriculture in which the researches conducted by the League Organisation are expected to do immense good to India, there is the problem of

immigration and emigration. There is a very large number of Indian labourers scattered over several islands and colonies in the world. Their lot so far has not been happy. India had to fight out their case with the countries concerned. Through the League which is trying to get emigration and immigration laws so changed as to remove the troubles of the labourers, India shall soon improve the lot of her sons who are earning their livelihood abroad.

Opium and other Dangerous Drugs.—We have said in the preceding chapter that one of the humanitarian activities of the League is the control of traffic in opium and other dangerous drugs. India produces large quantities of opium, and for a long time the Government of India have derived large revenues from opium cultivation. A very large quantity of this produce was exported to China where opium smoking has very badly affected the health of the Chinese. Ever since the time the League of Nations took up the work of preventing this trade, the Government of India and the Indian

States have sincerely cooperated with the League, although in doing so they have made very great sacrifices of revenues. The Indian States, where poppy growing has been done on a large scale, particularly in Malwa, have specially suffered, as heavy stocks of opium are now lying in store without being exported, on account of the restrictions which the Opium Conferences of the League have placed on the export of this commodity.

We quote below the change in the opium policy of the Government of India, from 'India in 1927-28', which clearly shows how India has cooperated with the League in regard to the prevention of traffic in opium :—

“The interest which the League of Nations has displayed in the suppression of the traffic in dangerous drugs has caused much attention to be devoted to the Indian opium trade, and a few years ago the attitude of the Indian Government towards the preparation and sale of opium in India and abroad was much mis understood. The

efforts and the sacrifices made by the Government of this country in the suppression of the opium traffic are now better known and the position may be briefly described. It may well be explained at the outset that as far as opium is concerned the sphere of the Government of India is practically confined to its international obligations in connection with the export of Indian opium to foreign countries, and to the control of opium in British India, and its distribution to the Provincial Governments.

“The policy of the Indian Government in the matter of opium exports is governed by international agreements. The export of opium to any non-Asiatic country other than the United Kingdom is prohibited and export to the latter is for medicinal purposes only and is strictly controlled by the Import Certificate system. The same system was applied to other drugs covered by the Hague Convention in 1923 by an order which was revised in 1926 so as to fall in line with the definitions contained in the Geneva Convention. In June, 1926. it

was announced that the extinction of exports of opium for other than medicinal and scientific purposes would be accomplished in ten years, that is, no opium will be exported for purposes other than medicinal and scientific after December 31, 1935. The exports in 1927 will be 90 per cent of the exports in 1926, then in 1928, 80 per cent of the exports in 1926, and so on. With effect from the 19th March 1925 the transshipment at any port in British India of any of the drugs covered by the Hague Convention was prohibited unless covered by an export authorization or diversion certificate issued by the exporting country, and this order was revised in the light of the Geneva Convention on the 12th February, 1927.

In short, the Government of India have shown earnestness in preventing traffic in opium and other dangerous drugs as is clear from the reports and figures issued by the League of Nations. Several conferences have been held between the Government of India, the several provincial governments

and the Indian States, as a result of which the area of poppy growing has been progressively reduced. The maximum amount of opium that can be kept by any two persons at any time has been fixed at one tola. Several restrictive measures have been taken to check illicit traffic in these drugs. The Indian police is ever vigilant to prosecute persons who carry on such trade. The success of these measures may be judged from the fall in consumption of opium during the years 1910-11 and 1926-27, from 12,527 maunds to 7,021 maunds. And as a result of the increased price at which opium is sold, in order to reduce its consumption, the revenues of the Government have increased from Rs. 1·63 crores in 1910-11 to Rs. 3·36 crores in 1926-27.

Similarly the consumption of cocaine and other dangerous drugs is progressively declining. The excise and police officers in big cities have shown great activity in arresting persons who are found secretly trading in cocaine. All these measures of

the Government have led to prevent the traffic in dangerous drugs to a considerable extent. All this has been done in accordance with the several conventions which India has signed in her capacity as a member of the League of Nations.

Health.—It is needless to describe in detail the losses which a country has to suffer on account of the unsatisfactory health of its people. Suffice it to say that in a tropical country like India, there are many epidemic diseases which not only claim a heavy toll of life every year, but also greatly reduce the vitality of every victim and the country loses the work which could be accomplished by a healthy worker. Of the many tropical diseases which visit India every year, malaria is the most important. There is no part of India which is free from this disease. The poor families of agriculturists and industrial workers are put to great difficulties and often times when the bread winner falls a victim to the diseases (cholera, small pox, malaria and the like) his family has to

starve. Therefore it is the duty of the Government to check the spread of diseases. It is a work in which international cooperation is of the greatest value. As we have already discussed in the previous chapter, the League of Nations has established its International Health Organisation for the purpose. India has regularly sent representatives to all Conferences held under the auspices of that Organisation.

In December 1927, the Seventh Congress of the Far Eastern Association of Tropical Medicine was held in Calcutta under the patronage of His Excellency Lord Irwin, then Viceroy of India. A large number of delegates from the Indian Provinces and States attended the Congress. Fourteen delegates from foreign countries were also present. Australia, the Dutch East Indies, Ceylon, Japan, the Straits Settlements, Federated Malay States, Siam, Indo-China, China and Hongkong were all represented. One representative of the League of Nations also attended. The Congress discussed subjects relating to public health in

eastern countries and passed some important resolutions. In January 1928, the Second Far East Health Interchange held its second meeting. This was organised by the League of Nations in consultation with the Government of India. Sixteen delegates of the governments of Ceylon, China, Australia, Egypt, Federated Malay States, French Indo-China, New Zealand, Japan, Straits Settlements, Philippines and the Dutch East Indies, attended the session. Most of the expenses were borne by the League itself. The object of this Interchange is to enable medical men to visit different countries, study conditions on the spot, and thereby contribute to the cause of improving the health of their own people.

The Malaria Commission of the League of Nations visited several parts of India and received very useful information on malaria. Besides this India has sent delegates to all international conferences, including the Rabies Conference held at Paris, and the International Relief Union Conference held at Geneva. As a result of this cooperation,

India will be enabled soon to give relief to her unhappy children who fall victims to the diseases which visit this country every year. In this way she will improve the health of the people, a task which could not have been successfully done without international cooperation.

The Singapore Bureau of the League in close proximity to India has been broadcasting important information to Indian ports relating to the diseases which break out among the sea passengers.

Intellectual Co-operation.—The civilisation of India is very old. Her culture occupies a very prominent place among world's cultures. She has much to teach to other countries, and has also much to learn from them. This can be done only by means of international co-operation. Ever since the establishment by the League of a Committee on Intellectual Co-operation, consisting of nearly 15 experts in literature and science, representing the various countries and cultures of the world, India has been given a place on the Committee. In co-

operation with this Committee of the League several countries are improving the education of their peoples. The part of India in this noble work is conspicuous. Not only is India helping others but her own intellectual life is acquiring a new vigour by coming in contact with the cultures of other countries. Eminent Indians like Sir Jagdish Chandra Bose, Sir C. V. Raman, and Sir Radha Krishnan, are invited by foreign countries as educationists and scientists, to deliver lectures at their seats of learning. This international co-operation results in a better understanding, among the nations, of each other's view point. This removes various misunderstandings and brings the peoples of different countries together.

Dr. Rabindra Nath Tagore's Vishwa Bharati at Bolpur, is an international university in which prominent professors from many foreign countries of the world are teaching. It is this kind of co-operation that is needed to secure international peace in the world.

The Intellectual Committee of the

League is arranging to supply information regarding teaching at various universities in the world. This coupled with the interchange of professors and teachers will contribute largely to remove international jealousies. Educational tours of students, who visit other countries, is another means whereby the people of India can understand the peoples of other countries to the mutual benefit of all. In fact, India will gain immensely by her taking an active part in the educational work of the League.

CHAPTER VI

Future Of India In The League

We propose in this chapter to deal with the future of India in the League. Should India continue to remain a member of the League? If she is to continue her membership, should there be any changes in the status of her delegation, etc.?

Need of International Co-operation.—We have said in the first chapter that on account of scientific progress resulting in increased interdependence of nations, no nation can now lead a life of absolute isolation in the world. And India is not an exception to this. If she supplies vast quantities of several articles to various countries, she also imports equally large quantities of foreign goods. Besides the commercial relations with the outside world, there are the postal, telegraphic, and other

matters in which she must confer with other countries. In fact, neither the Himalayas nor the Indian Ocean now stand as impregnable barriers between India and the rest of the world and such terms as absolute national independence have only a relative and restricted meaning.

In the political field, we are high on the road to full self-government or dominion status. As soon as India becomes a fully self-governing country her national responsibilities will rapidly increase. At present India's foreign relations are in the hands of Great Britain and she has not to trouble herself about matters outside her borders. This state will undergo entire change after we get dominion status. We have, therefore, to enhance our national status in the eyes of other nations in the world.

Status of Future Delegation.—Therefore the future delegation of India must be a fully independent one representing the views of the national government of India, and not depending on any instructions issued by the Secretary of State for India or the British

Foreign Office. It will reflect, in future, the views of the Government of India which will be responsible to the people of India through the elected Legislatures of United India.

In the future federal constitution of India, the position of Indian States is going to be one of equality with British India. As in the past in all delegations to the League, India has sent one Indian Prince who has creditably contributed to the discussions in the League Assembly, the Indian States have come to realise the necessity of co-operating with other nations of the world for the maintenance of world peace. They have also made sacrifices when called upon to do so, by abiding by the decisions of the Assembly. For example, the Opium policy of the League, aiming at prohibition of opium eating and smoking, has affected the revenues of several Indian States very adversely, as some of them used to derive considerable income from poppy cultivation. It is, therefore, very necessary to keep the interests of the Indian States

alive in all international matters and this can, among other ways, be also secured by continuing to include the representatives of the States in the Indian delegation to the League.

India and the League Council.—We have said before that India, though not at present a fully self-governing country, has been admitted as a member of the League on account of her being a signatory to the Peace Treaty of 1919. This has considerably influenced her political status in the eyes of the world, and her representatives have been elected to several of the Committees of the League. Continuance of this privilege is sure to raise our national prestige. Though this does not, by itself, make our country fully self-governing in internal matters, it undoubtedly changes our international outlook which indirectly affects our position inside the British Commonwealth of Nations. We sit at the table of the Assembly on terms of equality with the delegates from other British Dominions or Japan, France, Germany, or Italy. But

though in theory India enjoys equality of status inside the League, there is considerable difference in practice. Though Germany, which in 1914 was called the most cruel and barbarous nation—not rightly, of course, but on account of the War, in which she was accused of having broken international pledges and invaded the neutrality of smaller and weaker nations—has been given a permanent seat on the Council of the League, India has not yet been given even a non-permanent seat on that important body. This is a very unsatisfactory state of affairs and needs to be changed. Among the many changes, we propose in the last chapter of this book, for the future of the League, we strongly suggest a change in the rearrangement of seats in the Council of the League. India is the second largest member state of the League in point of population, China occupying the first place. And yet India has been denied a place on the Council though her financial contribution is larger than that of many a state that has either a

permanent or a non-permanent seat on the Council. And again, India and China together contain nearly half the world's population and yet they do not have even one permanent seat between them. Really they ought each to have a permanent seat.

Similarly in the Permanent Court of International Justice there is no Indian judge. When once at the time of election, an Indian name was proposed there was only one vote for him and that too of the Indian delegate. Judges from several smaller states have been elected to the bench of the Court, but the non-election of an Indian does no credit to the International League, because Indian culture and system of jurisprudence remain unrepresented on such an important international body. This is partly due to our political dependence on Great Britain. In future, however, when India gets self-government neither the members of the League would dare leave out India in any important election, nor India's national pride would countenance any discrimination against her.

In matters of appointments in the General Secretariat of the League, there are over 600 officials representing the different 54 Members States. Out of these India has not more than half a dozen to her credit, though her financial contribution is 56 units out of 986, *i.e.* nearly 6 per cent. This is not creditable to the League. Being a dependent country, India is considered politically weak in the League. But the principle underlying the establishment of the League is that of equality for all members. In future appointments, Indians should be more largely represented in the Secretariat of the League. This will certainly arouse deeper interest among the Indians in all affairs of the League: and ultimately the League will become more popular by enlisting active sympathy of this vast country by doing justice to her even in minor matters like appointments. The present number of Indian officials is certainly out of all proportion to her relative financial contribution or her population. It is true that in these international matters.

a purely proportional representation on the basis of financial contribution or population may not prove practicable or even very desirable. Still the very low present representation of India in the League calls for immediate change.

Future Advantages from Membership.—In future India will gain largely by her membership of the League by cutting down her ever increasing military expenditure. It is on account of the huge expenditure on the army that she can not spend enough on the education of her children. It is true, as the late Mr. Gopal Krishna Gokhale had once said, that if education were increased and Indians kept satisfied with the administration of the country, she could have defied a dozen Russias. Still it cannot be denied that owing to the ever growing greed of the Nations, the military budgets of all nations were, till lately, rising rapidly and India too had to spend huge sums on keeping a large standing army. She distrusted her neighbours, particularly Afghanistan and Russia, and therefore her North-West Frontier has

been kept like an ever ready fort to ward off any invasions from that direction. Of the important nations still outside the League are Russia and Afghanistan. But even these countries have expressed their willingness to co-operate with the League in such matters as disarmament. Afghanistan is desiring to enter the League as a full fledged member and Russia too is likely to seek admission. So that when India's neighbours are members of the League and she too inside that international body, all fear of invasions from the North-West will be gone and large sums now spent on keeping the most modern armaments in that quarter, will be beneficially devoted to expansion of education and sanitation, which are the two greatest needs of our country at the present moment.

The Covenant of the League states that the members of the League agree not to go to war but to settle their disputes by peaceful means. And we have seen that the League has been working fairly in settling international disputes thus minimis-

ing the chances of war. If and when any quarrel with Afghanistan or Russia arises it would be dealt with peacefully through the machinery of the League. There would be no necessity to resort to arms and kill men.

It cannot be denied that till recently and even to-day, the military policy of India has been and is guided by imperial considerations. Lord Curzon, while he was Viceroy of India, had thus expressed himself on this subject:—

“My own view of India's position is this. She is like a fortress with the vast moat of the sea on two of her faces and with mountains for her walls on the remainder. But beyond those walls, which are some times of by no means insuperable height and admit of being easily penetrated, extends glaxis of varying breadth and dimensions. We do not want to occupy it, but also cannot afford to see it occupied by our foes. We are quite content to

let it remain in the hands of our allies and friends; but, if rival and unfriendly influences creep up to it and lodge themselves right under our walls, we are compelled to intervene because a danger would thereby grow up that might one day menace our security. This is the secret of the whole position in Arabia, Persia, Afghanistan, Tibet, and as far eastwards as Siam."

He admitted that the whole of the military policy of the Government of India was directed towards preventing the expansion of hostile agencies on this area.

Although Mr. Gokhale had vigorously opposed the main trend of the Government's military policy, he too was not unmindful of the importance of keeping the frontiers protected. While pleading for a reduction of military expenditure, in his budget speech, of 1906, he said: "A profound change has taken place in the general position of Asiatic politics. The triumph of Japan in the late war has ensured peace

in Middle and East Asia. The tide of European aggression has been rolled back for good. The power of Russia has been broken, her prestige in Asia has gone; she has on her hands troubles more than enough of her own to think of troubling others for years to come; and thus a cloud that was thought to hang for twenty years and more over our North-West frontier has passed away; and, humanly speaking, is not likely to return at any rate during the time of the present generation. The Anglo-Japanese alliance, concluded without considering how it would be regarded by the people of this country, is a further guarantee of peace in Asia, if such an alliance has any meaning".

The prophecy of Mr. Gokhale that in this generation there was no fear or menace for the North-West or that the power of Russia had been crippled for good, proved false in the Great War and the last Afghan war with India. Still after the establishment of the League of Nations, with China Japan and Persia as already full-fledged members, and with the prospect of Afgha-

nistan and Russia soon joining the League, India can easily cry halt to the forward military policy so far pursued. This can best be done by our retaining membership of the League, doing every thing possible to increase the moral prestige of the League so as to make it a powerful international organisation for not only maintaining peace in the world but also for the service of humanity. In this noble work India's contribution, due to her culture, can be very great. And when peace in Asia has been assured she can safely cut down her military expenditure which is at present the heaviest in the world, considering her income and the general condition of her people. This saving from the military expenditure can be devoted to nobler objects and thus India can derive great benefits in the future by actively participating in the disarmament policy of the League.

Economic Advantages.—In the economic field, too, the advantages are not few. If the League is allowed to settle the various economic issues which precipitate great

financial crises the world over, with their bad effects on India, much trouble can be averted. India is mainly an agricultural country. Indian peasants are seen carrying on their work in the same old way as before. Modern improvements in agriculture and the scientific researches have influenced them little. We can easily study, in the future, the agricultural problems of other countries, by international co-operation, and in this way we can benefit our peasants in many ways. Cotton, wheat and opium conferences affect the lives of the agriculturists in India, when their resolutions are carried out by the Government of this country. Indian delegates can easily take a very active and prominent part in the Conferences, held under the auspices of the League, to deal with agricultural matters.

The lot of the Indian workers is by no means happy. It is true that the forty-eight-hour Geneva Convention has begun to remove several troubles, still there is a vast field for improvement. There are

thousands of small private owned factories in which the condition of the workers is pitiable. What Lord Shaftsbury had done with great difficulty in England, in his time, we can very easily do in India by acting upon the resolution of the League. The International Labour Conference is the proper machinery through which our delegates can ventilate the grievances of the workers and create world opinion in favour of necessary reforms.

Similarly forced labour, slavery, and child labour can be completely stopped. In times of famine, floods and epidemics our country suffers tremendously and our own resources fall far short of successfully lessening the sufferings of the unhappy people. Our country being largely tropical is subject to frequent and yearly outbreaks of malaria and other diseases. The humanitarian activities of the League, in the future, are bound to increase and India can benefit to a very great extent by her taking part in them, and fighting out the epidemics and other calamities with international co-oper-

ation. We all know how in times of famine, large quantities of wheat and maize imported from Australia and other countries give timely relief to the famine stricken. If the League takes up this relief work and it can be made to do so in future by expanding the scope of its activities—India is sure to gain.

In the industrial field India has been internationally recognised as one of the eight industrial countries in the world. This will bring great benefits in future as the work of the League progresses. With the establishment of self-government in India, her industries are sure to expand. There will then be need of international co-operation for opening new markets for our manufactures. We know how wars have often broken out on account of commercial rivalries. In fact, India went into British hands as a result of British trade in this country. Surely the League is the most suitable institution to remove commercial rivalries and keep friendly commercial relations between various nations.

Intellectual Advantages.—In ancient India there were big universities teaching thousands of students, some of whom came from distant countries. History affords evidence of the great intellectual activity of two of the most important seats of learning in India, Nalanda and Taxila. Indian culture was highly honoured by all nations. Greek and Chinese travellers have given brilliant accounts of our ancient culture which was spiritual in essence. In modern days our ancient cultural glory has been eclipsed by western culture which is materialistic in its aspect. Through the League India can teach to the West whatever is precious in her culture, and she can also learn from the West what it can teach her, particularly in the field of science. It is really through intellectual co-operation that nations come to respect each other, avoid war and enjoy peace which is the highest goal of human existence. India shall be failing in her duty if she did not contribute her proper share in building up a peaceful world. It is not too much to say

that East without West is incomplete, and the *vice versa*. And of the eastern countries India undoubtedly has the most to teach to the West.

We can surely benefit by sending Indian teachers and students to various countries of the world, where they can learn useful arts and sciences which they can introduce in their country much to the good of their country-men. In this way we can raise our country just as the Japanese have done. The League has rightly taken up this work of intellectual co-operation between the various nations. It gives financial help and useful suggestions to those intellectuals who need them, and Indians can easily take advantage of these facilities by going to the League for help in the advancement of learning.

Summary.—In these paragraphs we have abundantly shown how India is likely to gain by her membership of the League. She has to contribute only a few lakhs every year and as a result of it she can, besides getting other advantages, save

millions from her military budget. In addition to these material gains, she can be instrumental in spreading the blessings of peace on earth. Her sages have ever been proclaiming that all human activities are in vain if men do not enjoy peace. All our ceremonies end with a prayer for peace in every thing. We all pray:

“May there be peace in the sky, peace in mid-air, peace on the earth, peace in waters, peace in medicines, and peace in vegetables. May all the powers of nature bring us peace. May God vouchsafe us peace. May peace and peace alone reign every where. May that peace come unto me.” (Yajurveda XXXVI-17).

It is, therefore, incumbent on us all to see that this message of peace is spread in the world, and this cannot better be done than through the League of Nations which too has as its goal the spread of universal peace. The League also prohibits the use of poisonous drugs and works for avoiding war. In fact, the measure of the success of

the League is the success of the ancient culture of India. India shall be failing in her duty to humanity if she did not take a very active part in the affairs of the League. If she is grateful to her greatest kings like Asoka and Akbar, it is her duty to see that the prestige of this international organisation is increased.

Every Indian has a duty to his family. He is born in it, and is, therefore, bound with the prosperity of that family. After his family comes his village, in the progress of which he feels interested. After the village, as his circle of sympathies and duties increases, he looks to his Taluka or district, after that to his province and then to his country. And as we have said, in this age no country can cut off its relations with the rest of the world, we come to the Empire. It is true that at present inside the British Empire our status is not what it ought to be, that of willing partnership. But it is up to us to see that we exercise the same rights as Canadians, or Australians do. The Empire can be made a true

Commonwealth of Nations, in which all member nations have the same position, and through this Commonwealth of nations we enter the largest Commonwealth of all Nations—the League of Nations.

We can discharge our duty to the League, first of all, by making it known to the people in this country. There are very few at present who know what the League is or what are its aims and objects, and how it can be used as an instrument of peace in the world. Therefore, efforts should be made to impress upon the minds of students the usefulness of this international organisation. Students are the most proper vehicle for disseminating such useful ideas to the people in general. It is they whose opinions and views will influence the future generation. Then again, small study circles should be organised in all big cities in India where people can meet and discuss the working of the League. Press will prove to be of great help in this work. If the important newspapers of India determine to make the League known throughout the

country the task can be done quickly. Contact should be established with foreign countries through travels and correspondence. This will enable the younger generation to feel sympathy for people in other lands and their outlook of life will become international in preference to provincial or even national. Movements like the Boy Scouts and Red Cross Societies, which aim at service of humanity in general without any distinction of race or nationality should be encouraged to create fellow feeling. Our teachers and students should be helped by the Government, in small batches, to visit centres of learning in other countries. This will enable us to understand the culture of those countries much better than we do now through books alone. And this correct understanding will avoid further misunderstandings. It is true that Dr. Rabindra Nath Tagore's noble institution, the Vishwa-Bharati at Bolpur, is an international university where teachers from several foreign countries are teaching, but one such institution is merely a drop in the ocean.

Many more of its kind should be started.

Literature dealing with brotherhood of man and hatred for war should be produced. In short, all possible measures should be adopted to popularise League ideas. Then and then alone India can understand the usefulness of the League and use it for her own good and ultimately for the good of humanity. This is a noble aim for which many of her ablest sons worked in the past.

PART THREE

THE FUTURE OF THE LEAGUE

CHAPTER VII

Present Defects

In the preceding chapters we have described the aims, objects and working of the League, its usefulness and the connection of India with it. It does not, however, follow that the League, as at present constituted, has no defects. Nothing which is created by man is perfect, much less so a complex organisation like the League. As our experience progresses we learn what defects there are in the League. We should all try to see that these defects are removed and the League is made much more useful for the service of humanity than it, at present, is. It is in this spirit that we describe in this chapter the defects we find in the League.

The main object of the League is to make the world worth living in by avoiding

war and establishing a spirit of co-operation between the different nations. To achieve this, it is necessary that all nations of the world should not only agree to avoid war but to become active members of the League. We have said before that in this modern world no nation has interests absolutely unconnected with other nations, and therefore what concerns one nation concerns the world. Even if one important nation does not promise to avoid war and settle its international disputes by peaceful means, there can be no security of a stable and permanent peace in the world. Suppose there is one nation which is not a member of the League. No nation can force that non-member to cut down its armaments; that non-member can increase its military, or naval, or air forces without legally offending the League. Now this increase of armaments will naturally create fears in the neighbouring states. This increase of fear will compel them to increase their own armaments. This process will develop and cut at the root of the spirit that should guide

the activities of the Members-States of the League. Ultimately an unfortunate competition for armaments will follow and disturb world's peace.

Unfortunately at present there are many states that are not members of the League. The most important of these are the United States of America, the Soviet Republic, Afghanistan, and Brazil. Though these nations are willing to co-operate with the League in all essential matters, still not being members of the League they cannot be expected to carry out all the resolutions of the League. Efforts should be made to admit all these non-members states to the League. It is very strange, that although the late president Woodrow Wilson of the United States of America was one of the most important personages who had placed before the world the idea of establishing the present League, and he had tried his best to give the idea practical shape, yet his country has not yet become a member of the League. It is very necessary, if the cause of world's peace is to be a success, that all

important states should join the League as full members.

Dependencies Still Allowed.—Another defect is the recognition by the League of such possessions by the Members States as are called 'Dependencies.' Undoubtedly the League cannot force the Members States to give up their dependencies and other colonial possessions. It can, nevertheless, make it a condition of its membership that all Members States which have possessions under them would, within a specified period, make those dependent states fully self-governing. For it is clear that wars often break out due to Nations' greed for colonial and overseas possessions. And we cannot expect peace between the various states in the world unless all causes that result in wars have been removed. Secondly, the League aims at the service of humanity. What service of men can be greater and nobler than making dependent peoples self-governing. If slavery is bad, political dependence is worse. There is no doubt that 'Good government is no substitute for

self-government,' as no nation can be expected to be so unselfish as to govern another nation solely for the good of that nation. Besides this, the existence of possessions by one nation is sure to excite the jealousies of other nations and this jealousy would create ill feelings and then that detestable and horrible thing—War. The history of China is a clear pointer in that direction. The existence of neutral or international zones in China is nothing but the sign of foreign exploitation of a weak country by several powerful nations. The recent happenings in that country clearly point out the necessity of equal treatment of all countries and non-recognition of dependencies or colonial possessions.

Mandated Territories.—At the close of the War the League of Nations created mandated territories and mandates. It also appointed a Mandates Commission to watch the administration of these mandated territories. Now this word, mandated territory, is another, though a milder, substitute for dependencies. It is true that a mandatory

has to render annual account to the League for the administration of the territories placed under its charge, and the Mandates Commission of the Council of the League does interfere to improve the administration for the good of the inhabitants. Still it cannot be denied that these mandated territories are likely to be the bone of contention between different nations, as the former are but the old parts of possessions of the defeated nations of the War. The League should, therefore, keep greater watch on the administration of these territories, and fix the time limit within which the territories should be given full self-government. And even during the time these territories are taught to govern themselves, it should be tried whether they are better taught by an international commission than by one particular nation. Undoubtedly an international body of statesmen drawn from different nations will be a better substitute for the purpose than one single nation, as that international body will have no other interests to look after

than those of the countries under its charge. The League can very well begin the experiment and thus improve the existing state of affairs, as far as the mandated territories are concerned.

Defective Composition of the Council.—

Another defect is the present composition of the Council of the League. At present England, France, Germany, Italy, and Japan have each a permanent seat on the Council. The Council of the League is undoubtedly the most important international organisation, membership of which has become a much coveted thing. Although the chief aim of the League is to inspire confidence in all the nations of the world and to treat them as equals, still in the composition of its organisations there is clearly inequality prevailing. The greatest of the continents, Asia, has only one permanent seat on the Council, while Europe has the remaining four; Africa, Australia, North America and South America have none. This is most unsatisfactory. The noble object of

the League cannot be achieved in this way. Clearly there has to be some other criterion for the allotment of permanent seats on the Council than the possession of mere physical force by a nation. If a nation has shown by its actions that it has avoided war, and shuns war, it is the fittest nation to have a permanent seat on the Council. Also there must be distribution of permanent seats on a territorial basis, or every principal form of civilisation in every continent must be represented as far as possible. And if any continent does not get a permanent representation, there must be a provision for giving it one of the temporary seats. It is the present improper allotment of permanent seats on the Council which gives a loop hole to the critics of the League to call it a League of the European Nations. While the League theoretically recognises the equality of status of all the States, it has omitted to apply the principle to the arrangement of seats on the Council.

Character of Some Decisions.—During the

first decade of its existence the League has surely done some very useful work. There is, however, great room for improvement in future work. Much can be done by making the important recommendations of the League binding on the Members States. We have pointed out in Part I that in cases where there is no unanimity, the resolutions of the League are only a sort of advice to the nations. This should be changed, and now that the League has successfully outlived the experimental stage and proved definitely useful in many cases the unanimity rule can, in some important matters at least, give place to a majority rule, although the minimum of that majority may be placed very high, say even 80 %. Mere passing of resolutions now and calling them as advice does not by itself bear fruitful results. Granted that at the time of the establishment of the League, it was necessary to enlist the co-operation of the various states in the work of organising such an important international body, and for that reason the Covenant could not

contain the provision that all resolutions of the League would be binding on the Members States. But now that the League has given a sufficiently good account of itself and has survived these years the retention of this advisory character of many of its resolutions can be easily changed. This will enable the League to deal effectively and promptly with some of the great crises like the recent Sino-Japanese dispute.

In this dispute there has been much loss of time resulting in bloodshed and loss of property. Due to its weakness the League could not stop this trouble with that promptness which was necessary in the case. The failure of the League in enforcing its decisions effectively was partly due to the want of sufficient powers. The League, no doubt, moved its machinery and sincerely tried to settle the dispute, but it acted rather hesitatingly. Even the ambassador of the United States of America at Bern attended for the first time the meeting of the League Council, confident of settling the dispute, but the early efforts

of the League failed. The dispute, nay the war, went on and the League helplessly looked on. It apparently failed to arouse world opinion in condemnation of the quarrel. It appealed to Japan and China, but the appeal had little effect. Here it must be remembered that Japan has got a permanent seat on the Council since the very establishment of the League. The Covenant of the League states that the members of the League agree not to go to war but to settle their differences peacefully. Here both China and Japan broke the Covenant and fought. Now supposing that one of the two had taken the risk of allowing the other to have its way, and appealed to the League for justice, matters could have been well settled in time; and the first sacrifice on the part of that suffering nation would have aroused the sympathies of the world in its favour. But neither China nor Japan showed that willingness. As for the League, it did not take a strong action. It could have appealed to the youth of the world to condemn the quarrel, and it ought

to have published its provisional settlement, appointed a Commission to investigate on the spot and to make report to the League for final decision by the Council. If both or one of the two parties had refused to accept the provisional settlement of the League, there would have then been a case for economic boycott of the recalcitrant state, as provided in the Covenant. Perhaps the League hesitated lest this bold step might offend any state or states who might then go out of the League. We would, on the other hand, frankly say that boldness on the part of the League, even if it had resulted in any defection, would have appealed to the better mind of the world, and ultimately the League would have been the gainer by showing its determination to uphold the cause of peace. Failure on the part of the League to take a bold step in this dispute has shown its weakness and this has done more harm than if on account of the League's decision any state had even left it.

Disarmament.—Another matter in which

the League has not yet shown the progress it could have made, is the problem of the reduction of armaments. In this case the League is not much to blame. The League, as we have said, is not a super-state, but only the collective voice of the states. And as disarmament cannot be successfully carried out unless all important nations of the world determine to do it, the League cannot be blamed much. Disarmament is surely the most important work before the League. And the League can succeed in it only by creating a very powerful world opinion against war and warlike preparations. This can be done not so much by convening disarmament conferences as by appeal to the youth of the world. We shall take up this point in detail in the next chapter.

Poor Finances of the League.—We now take up the last point of this chapter. That is regarding the finances of the League. During these years of its existence, the League has done useful work, its defects and shortcomings notwithstanding. It

could have done more had it possessed the necessary means, the most important of which is sufficiency of finances. Despite the noble aim—the noblest aim, we should say—of the League, the Members States appear to look upon their contributions to the League as an unnecessary drain on their resources, if not actually so much waste of money. Lack of finances stands in the way of the League and it is not able to carry out some of its best intentions and resolutions. If the League is to be a complete success, it must have ample resources for its propaganda work. But so far it has suffered from lack of finances. Some of the Members States are in arrears for several years. This is certainly not at all creditable to them. It shows their love of peace is not great.

In the allotment of the units of contributions by each member there is a great disparity. For example, India's contribution is sufficiently high, and yet she does not get her proper share in the Secretariat appointments and in elections to the various

committees of the League. We have pointed out in Chapters V and VI how our country has not been able to get a seat either on the Council of the League or on the Permanent Court of International Justice. This is not proper treatment. The League can appeal to the world only by showing absolute impartiality in matters of appointments and elections. If this cannot be attained by relying on the votes of the Members States, other arrangements for territorial representation and the like should be made.

CHAPTER VIII.

Suggestions for the future.

We have said in the preceding chapter that all nations are not yet members of the League, and have shown how even if one important state is out of it the work of the League, *viz.* the maintenance of peace in the world is likely to suffer. We have also said that it is very necessary that all nations should become members of the League. To do this it is very necessary that our general political conception of a 'state' must change. People of some industrial nations have come to look upon some other politically weak states as their exploiting ground. This is not only bad but immoral. God has made all men to live comfortably and peacefully in the world. If the people of a country happen to be industrially or intellectually advanced, it is their moral duty

to help the people of other countries which are backward, to better their lot.

It is only when nations forget or desire to forget this important duty of helping the weak that they embark upon war and destruction. It is inhuman to advance the argument that war is a biological necessity or that only the fittest can or should survive. For, were it really the case no father would sacrifice his own interests to provide for his son. The same love of God that connects the mother and her child, the father and his son, really ought to exist between the civilised and the backward nations. To treat these backward nations as peoples existing for the benefit of the advanced nations is criminal. This is never the way to peace. We must recognise that 'Right is Might', and not the *vice versa*. If we only look to our own comfort and pleasure and raise not our eyes towards those who are unfortunate, we should first close down all reformatories, hospitals and asylums for the sick and the invalid. For if we start charitable institutions for the poor,

the hungry and the crippled, why do we not think, and rightly too, that a backward nation is only a very big institution or asylum, full of people who deserve the care and the sympathy of the more fortunate sons of God. It is this true spirit which the League must spread in the future through its activities. It must not recognise the right—is it really right or usurpation we see all around us?—of any nation to keep dependencies. The so called dependencies must cease and the League should take up the task of first making them mandated territories and then ultimately self-governing states. It may be said that it is revolutionising present political arrangements. If we are really determined to outlaw war and establish universal peace, we have to change the current of international law, whether the change is great or small. As the aim is very great so must be the means to achieve it. It is just possible that the nation which owns a dependency may be appointed by the League as the mandatory power for that dependent country. Certainly it will be an

easier way to accomplish what we mean. Our only point is that the dependent countries must not be considered as being the domestic concern of the powerful nations ruling over them ; they must come within the jurisdiction of the League which should receive annual accounts of the progress made by the rulers in helping the dependents to govern themselves. If the noble aim of the League, as stated in the Preamble to the Covenant, is to be achieved, it should not prove impossible to improve the present condition of the dependent countries. Only when all countries in the world become fully self-governing and independent in all matters except those that are of international importance and hence within the jurisdiction of the League, will the world enjoy peace and happiness, and not till then.

As for the mandated territories, we need only suggest that instead of entrusting the work of administering them to individual States, the League should appoint international commissions, one for each territory,

and directly supervise the administration. An international commission will be impartial and hence more acceptable to the governed. There will be no vested interests for the commission to guard, in favour of any foreign state, and this would assuredly remove all chances of disputes arising between the various powers or between the mandated territories and the mandatories. Besides, this will enhance the usefulness of the League as it will then be able to show some very tangible results of its working. In dealing with the questions of dependencies and mandated territories, the League should rigidly apply the principle of self-determination and allow the peoples of those countries the fullest opportunity to express their desires. Then and then alone we can remove several causes of wars and bestow the blessings of peace on a large part of the almost enslaved population of the world.

When the League was established, the victors of the War had the final voice in shaping its constitution. Naturally,

therefore, they got a preponderating voice for themselves in the Council of the League by assigning to themselves permanent seats. If we look at the Council now we clearly find no principle in its composition. As the Council is the chief executive body of the League, which is entrusted with the most important work, the League should immediately take up the work of re-arranging the distribution of seats on an equitable basis. We have already pointed out in the previous chapter that Europe has the largest, nay the whole, share in the proceedings of the Council. We, therefore, propose an entire reshuffling. Some of the seats on the Council should be assigned on a territorial basis. For example, Europe, and Asia should each get three seats, America two, Africa two, and Australia one. After that some seats should be distributed on population basis, and India and China, being the countries with the largest populations in the world, should each get a permanent seat. Seats may be assigned on the basis of the principal forms of civilisation, such as

Anglo-Saxon, Teutonic, Slev, Latin, Chinese, Japanese, Hindu, and Mohammadan, etc. Then there should be a number of non-permanent seats open to election as at present. The method of assigning temporary seats should be allowed to continue so as to enable the unrepresented states to have adequate representation in case any matter concerning them comes up before the Council.

It is also necessary to modify the constitution of the League by introducing a sort of federal tie between the Members States. This will facilitate the work of bringing about disarmament. Once a state has chosen to seek admission to the League, it should not have the option of going out of it. It should also abide by the decisions of the League in all international matters. These conditions do in no way interfere with the internal independence of a state. They only touch upon its international relations and hence there ought to be no objection on the part of any Member State to subscribe to the decisions of the League.

Recently, M. Briand had placed before European states his scheme of a federation of European Powers. Several states had expressed their sympathy and general agreement with the idea. Undoubtedly a modified scheme of a loose federation for all states in the world to deal with social, intellectual, and political matters of an international importance, can be devised and the League should take up this work and introduce necessary amendments in the Covenant. But even as we say this we do not mean that we favour the establishment of a super state. What we really aim at is that a number of autonomous and independent states should combine to promote common interests of mankind, such as cultural, social and political. This will ensure equal opportunities for all Members States, large as well as small, and quicken the work of establishing peace and happiness in the world.

During this first decade of its existence the League has undoubtedly checked the growth of armaments in the world. But it

cannot be said that it has succeeded in reducing the expenditure on armaments, in the various states, on any large scale and to the desired extent. Even now the madness for keeping large forces, land, naval or air, is in the minds of nations, and even now we find them ready for war. This is the most unfortunate state of affairs. It shows utter want of trust between the Members States of the League. Disarmament Conferences meet, pass pious resolutions and disperse, but real disarmament has not yet taken place. The League should take courage and appoint a strong committee to deal with the matter. All states should give an undertaking to the Committee to abide by its decisions. Then and then alone such a committee will be able to bring about real disarmament. All nations are spending recklessly on war-like preparations unmindful of the fact that by stopping this expenditure, how much more useful work can be done for the welfare of their own people and ultimately for the good of the world, by directing the

expenditure of that saving in other ways.

The above changes can be effected only when a very powerful world opinion has been created in favour of the League. If the younger generation in all countries is made to feel the benefits from the League and is taught to love all people, future wars will become impossible. This can be done by propaganda. At present the propaganda of the League is confined strictly to very high circles, in the educated society. Man in the street apart, even the middle classes all over the world are almost ignorant of the aims, objects, and work of the League. How can it then be expected that people will force the hands of their respective governments to reduce their armaments, trust in the League and spend the saving from military budgets on more humane and beneficial objects?

We, therefore, suggest that the League should immediately take up this propaganda work on a vigorous scale. An Indian Office of the League has just been started in Bombay. Let there be provincial

branches of this office in India. The heads of the provincial branches should at once put themselves in touch with the education departments in all provinces and States, get League pamphlets prescribed as a part of the curricula in Schools and Intermediate Colleges, and higher books in the Universities. Correspondents should visit towns and villages and lecture to the people on the aims and work of the League. The co-operation of the Boy Scouts and Girl Guides should be enlisted to carry out the social and humanitarian work of the League. This will neither be difficult to do nor it will require a long time. The Scouts will then naturally carry the message of the League to all villages and tell people that here is the League of Nations to stop war, spread peace and serve humanity without any distinction of caste, creed or race.

In fact, we require a missionary spirit among the workers of the League, who would carry to the people in general the message of world peace. At present the propagandists of the League, reach only

those among the people whom they consider most cultured or those who are front rank politicians—the very persons who declare war or vote for increase of armaments. If the work of the League is to prosper, let the public know what the League stands for, and it will tie down the hands of the politicians not to do any thing for war.

To educate the people in general in the work of the League, cinematograph films should be screened every month in all important centres. This can be arranged through cinema companies. Magic lantern slides can be easily shown to teachers in village schools and District Boards, and then through them to all children even in primary schools. Course books should contain chapters on the usefulness of the League. History books should be so revised as to contain ideas of brotherhood of men, hatred for war, love of peace, and they should be purged of all matter that is likely to create hatred between one nation and another.

To develop intellectual co-operation,

exchange of university professors and school teachers between various countries should be encouraged. Educational tours of teachers and students should be arranged, and if necessary, partly financed by the governments of the countries concerned or even by the League. This will create an international mind in the youth. Literary men like Tagore, Romain Rolland and others have already created an atmosphere of this kind by their examples and precept. We have already mentioned that very great political revolutions have been brought about by the teachings of professors and philosophers who exercise a very profound influence on the minds of the younger generation. The same agency may now be profitably employed to preach ideas of fellow feeling and world peace.

Critics of the League forget that the League is not meant to be the panacea of all ills and that it can only be as powerful and as useful as its constituent members are inclined to make it. The failures of the League, if any, are not due to any

defect in the ideal of the League itself, but are the results of the weakness of human nature. If Mahatma Gandhi's ideals of Ahinsa are to be accepted by the nations of the world, then and then alone can the League be a reality and an effective agent of international co-operation and good will.

But all this requires propaganda and hence money. At present the finances of the League are not sufficient to allow the taking up of the above suggestions. We would unhesitatingly suggest a substantial increase in the contributions of all the Members States. No money spent on the work of the League should be considered a drain on the state revenues. What is spent on the League will be well spent and it will easily allow cutting down of the expenditure on defence by creating mutual trust. If international co-operation can be purchased even at one-tenth of the cost at which we maintain very large forces for human destruction, we shall be doing immense service for humanity, and indeed be doing our duty not only to our fellow

men but to Him Who is the Common Maker of us all.

And what we have said for India, we say for the world. If all States in the world take up the above suggestions in right earnest and if they only remember that:—

“Nearly every great and intellectual race of the world has produced, at every period of its career, an art with some peculiar and precious character about it, wholly unattainable by any other race and at any other time, and the intention of the Providence concerning that art is evidently that it should all grow together into one mighty temple; the rough stones and the smooth all finding their place and rising, day by day, in richer and higher pinnacles to heaven”.

We can make this world a place worth living in, on which Heaven will smile with pleasure.

Annex I.

THE COVENANT OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

The High Contracting Parties,

In order to promote international co-operation and
to achieve international peace and security

by the acceptance of obligations not to resort to
war,

by the prescription of open, just and honourable
relations between nations,

by the firm establishment of the understandings
of international law as the actual rule of
conduct among Governments,

and by the maintenance of justice and a
scrupulous respect for all treaty obligations
in the dealings of organised peoples with one
another,

Agree to this Covenant of the League of Nations.

Article 1.

1. The original Members of the League of Nations
shall be those of the Signatories which are named in
the Annex to this Covenant and also such of those

other States named in the Annex as shall accede without reservation to this Covenant. Such accession shall be affected by a Declaration deposited with the Secretariat within two months of the coming into force of the Covenant. Notice thereof shall be sent to all other Members of the League.

2. Any fully self-governing State, Dominion or Colony not named in the Annex may become a Member of the League if its admission is agreed to by two-thirds of the Assembly, provided that it shall give effective guarantees of its sincere intention to observe its international obligations, and shall accept such regulations as may be prescribed by the League in regard to its military, naval and air forces and armaments.

3. Any Member of the League may, after two years' notice of its intention so to do, withdraw from the League, provided that all its international obligations and all its obligations under this Covenant shall have been fulfilled at the time of its withdrawal.

Article 2.

The action of the League under this Covenant shall be effected through the instrumentality of an Assembly and of a Council, with a permanent Secretariat:

Article 3.

1. The Assembly shall consist of Representatives of the Members of the League.

2. The Assembly shall meet at stated intervals and from time to time as occasion may require at the Seat of the League or at such other place as may be decided upon.

3. The Assembly may deal at its meetings with any matter within the sphere of action of the League or affecting the peace of the world.

4. At meetings of the Assembly, each Member of the League shall have one vote, and may have not more than three Representatives.

Article 4.

1. The Council shall consist of Representatives of the Principal Allied and Associated Powers,* together with Representatives of four other Members of the League. These four Members of the League shall be selected by the Assembly from time to time in its discretion. Until the appointment of the Representatives of the four Members of the League first selected by the Assembly, Representatives of Belgium, Brazil, Spain and Greece shall be members of the Council.

2. With the approval of the majority of the Assembly, the Council may name additional Members of the League whose Representatives shall always be

*The Principal Allied and Associated Powers are the following: The United States of America, the British Empire, France, Italy and Japan, (see Preamble of the Treaty of Peace with Germany).

during the consideration of matters specially affecting the interests of that Member of the League.

6. At meetings of the Council, each Member of the League represented on the Council shall have one vote, and may have not more than one Representative.

Article 5.

1. Except where otherwise expressly provided in this Covenant or by the terms of the present Treaty, decisions at any meeting of the Assembly or of the Council shall require the agreement of all the Members of the League represented at the meeting.

2. All matters of procedure at meetings of the Assembly or of the Council, including the appointment of Committees to investigate particular matters, shall be regulated by the Assembly or by the Council and may be decided by a majority of the Members of the League represented at the meeting.

3. The first meeting of the Assembly and the first meeting of the Council shall be summoned by the President of the United States of America.

Article 6.

1. The permanent Secretariat shall be established at the Seat of the League. The Secretariat shall comprise a Secretary-General and such secretaries and staff as may be required.

2. The first Secretary-General shall be the person named in the Annex; thereafter the Secretary-General

shall be appointed by the Council with the approval of the majority of the Assembly.

3. The secretaries and staff of the Secretariat shall be appointed by the Secretary-General with the approval of the Council.

4. The Secretary-General shall act in that capacity at all meetings of the Assembly and of the Council.

5.* *The expenses of the League shall be borne by the Members of the League in the proportion decided by the Assembly.*

Article 7.

1. The Seat of the League is established at Geneva.

2. The Council may at any time decide that the Seat of the League shall be established elsewhere.

3. All positions under or in connection with the League, including the Secretariat, shall be open equally to men and women.

4. Representatives of the Members of the League and officials of the League shall enjoy diplomatic privileges and immunities.

5. The buildings and other property occupied by the League or its officials or by Representatives attending its meetings shall be inviolable.

*This Amendment came into force on August 18th, 1924, in accordance with Article 26 of the Covenant and replaces the following text :

"5. The expenses of the Secretariat shall be borne by the Members of the League in accordance with the apportionment of the expenses of the International Bureau of the Universal Postal Union."

Article 8.

1. The Members of the League recognise that the maintenance of peace requires the reduction of national armaments to the lowest point consistent with national safety and the enforcement by common action of international obligations.

2. The Council, taking account of the geographical situation and circumstances of each State, shall formulate plans for such reduction for the consideration and action of the several Governments.

3. Such plans shall be subject to reconsideration and revision at least every ten years.

4. After these plans shall have been adopted by the several Governments, the limits of armaments therein fixed shall not be exceeded without the concurrence of the Council.

5. The Members of the League agree that the manufacture by private enterprise of munitions and implements of war is open to grave objections. The Council shall advise how the evil effects attendant upon such manufacture can be prevented, due regard being had to the necessities of those Members of the League which are not able to manufacture the munitions and implements of war necessary for their safety.

6. The Members of the League undertake to interchange full and frank information as to the scale of their armaments, their military, naval and air

programmes and the condition of such of their industries as are adaptable to warlike purposes.

Article 9.

A permanent Commission shall be constituted to advise the Council on the execution of the provisions of Articles 1 and 8 and on military, naval and air questions generally.

Article 10.

The Members of the League undertake to respect and preserve as against external aggression the territorial integrity and existing political independence, of all Members of the League. In case of any such aggression or in case of any threat or danger of such aggression the Council shall advise upon the means by which this obligation shall be fulfilled.

Article 11.

1. Any war or threat of war, whether immediately affecting any of the Members of the League, or not, is hereby declared a matter of concern to the whole League, and the League shall take any action that may be deemed wise and effectual to safeguard the peace of nations. In case any such emergency should arise the Secretary-General shall on the request of any Member of the League forthwith summon a meeting of the Council.

2. It is also declared to be the friendly right of each Member of the League to bring to the attention

of the Assembly or of the Council any circumstance whatever affecting international relations which threatens to disturb international peace or the good understanding between nations upon which peace depends.

*Article 12.**

1. The Members of the League agree that if there should arise between them any dispute likely to lead to a rupture they will submit the matter either to arbitration *or judicial settlement* or to enquiry by the Council, and they agree in no case to resort to war until three months after the award by the arbitrators *or the judicial decision* or the report by the Council.

2. In any case under this Article the award of the arbitrators *or the judicial decision* shall be made within a reasonable time, and the report of the Council shall be made within six months after the submission of the dispute.

*Article 13.**

1. The Members of the League agree that whenever any dispute shall arise between them which they

* The Amendments printed in italics relating to these Articles came into force on September 26th, 1924, in accordance with article 26 of the Covenant and replace the following texts :

Article 12.

"The Members of the League agree that if there should arise between them any dispute likely to lead to a rupture they will submit

recognise to be suitable for submission to arbitration or *judicial settlement*, and which cannot be satisfactorily settled by diplomacy, they will submit the whole subject-matter to arbitration or *judicial settlement*.

the matter either to arbitration or, to enquiry by the Council, and they agree in no case to resort to war until three months after the award by the arbitrators or the report by the Council.

"In any case under this Article the award of the arbitrators shall be made within a reasonable time, and the report of the Council shall be made within six months after the submission of the dispute."

Article 13.

"The Members of the League agree that whenever any dispute shall arise between them which they recognise to be suitable for submission to arbitration and which cannot be satisfactorily settled by diplomacy, they will submit the whole subject-matter to arbitration.

"Disputes as to the interpretation of a treaty, as to any question of international law, as to the existence of any fact which if established would constitute a breach of any international obligation, or as to the extent and nature of the reparation to be made for any such breach, are declared to be among those which are generally suitable for submission to arbitration.

"For the consideration of any such dispute, the court of arbitration to which the case is referred shall be the court agreed on by the parties to the dispute or stipulated in any convention existing between them.

"The Members of the League agree that they will carry out in full good faith any award that may be rendered and that they will not resort to war against a Member of the League which complies therewith. In the event of any failure to carry out such an award, the Council shall propose what steps should be taken to give effect thereto."

2. Disputes as to the interpretation of a treaty, as to any question of international law, as to the existence of any fact which, if established, would constitute a breach of any international obligation, or as to the extent and nature of the reparation to be made for any such breach, are declared to be among those which are generally suitable for submission to arbitration or *judicial settlement*.

3. *For the consideration of any such dispute, the court to which the case is referred shall be the Permanent Court of International Justice, established in accordance with Article 14, or any tribunal agreed on by the parties to the dispute or stipulated in any convention existing between them.*

4. The Members of the League agree that they will carry out in full good faith any award or *decision* that may be rendered, and that they will not resort to war against a Member of the League which complies therewith. In the event of any failure to carry out such an award or *decision*, the Council shall propose what steps should be taken to give effect thereto.

Article 14.

The Council shall formulate and submit to the Members of the League for adoption plans for the establishment of a Permanent Court of International Justice. The Court shall be competent to hear and determine any dispute of an international character

relevant facts and papers, and the Council may forthwith direct the publication thereof.

3. The Council shall endeavour to effect a settlement of the dispute, and if such efforts are successful, a statement shall be made public giving such facts and explanations regarding the dispute and the terms of settlement thereof as the Council may deem appropriate.

4. If the dispute is not thus settled, the Council either unanimously or by a majority vote shall make and publish a report containing a statement of the facts of the dispute and the recommendations which are deemed just and proper in regard thereto.

5. Any Member of the League represented on the Council may make public a statement of the facts of the dispute and of its conclusions regarding the same.

6. If a report by the Council is unanimously agreed to by the members thereof other than the Representatives of one or more of the parties to the dispute, the Members of the League agree that they will not go to war with any party to the dispute which complies with the recommendations of the report.

7. If the Council fails to reach a report which is unanimously agreed to by the members thereof, other than the Representatives of one or more of the parties to the dispute, the Members of the League reserve to themselves the right to take such action as they shall

consider necessary for the maintenance of right and justice.

8. If the dispute between the parties is claimed by one of them, and is found by the Council, to arise out of a matter which by international law is solely within the domestic jurisdiction of that party, the Council shall so report, and shall make no recommendation as to its settlement.

9. The Council may in any case under this Article refer the dispute to the Assembly. The dispute shall be so referred at the request of either party to the dispute provided that such request be made within fourteen days after the submission of the dispute to the Council.

10. In any case referred to the Assembly, all the provisions of this Article and of Article 12 relating to the action and powers of the Council shall apply to the action and powers of the Assembly, provided that a report made by the Assembly, if concurred in by the Representatives of those Members of the League represented on the Council and of a majority of the other Members of the League, exclusive in each case of the Representatives of the parties to the dispute, shall have the same force as a report by the Council concurred in by all the members thereof other than the Representatives of one or more of the parties to the dispute.

Article 16.

1. Should any Member of the League resort to war in disregard of its covenants under Articles 12, 13 or 15, it shall *ipso facto* be deemed to have committed an act of war against all other Members of the League, which hereby undertake immediately to subject it to the severance of all trade or financial relations, the prohibition of all intercourse between their nationals and the nationals of the covenant-breaking State, and the prevention of all financial, commercial or personal intercourse between the nationals of the covenant-breaking State and the nationals of any other State, whether a Member of the League or not.

2. It shall be the duty of the Council in such case to recommend to the several Governments concerned what effective military, naval or air force the Members of the League shall severally contribute to the armed forces to be used to protect the covenants of the League.

3. The Members of the League agree, further, that they will mutually support one another in the financial and economic measures which are taken under this Article, in order to minimise the loss and inconvenience resulting from the above measures, and that they will mutually support one another in resisting any special measures aimed at one of their

number by the covenant-breaking State, and that it will take the necessary steps to afford passage through their territory to the forces of any of the Members of the League which are co-operating to protect the covenants of the League.

4. Any Member of the League which has violated any covenant of the League may be declared to be no longer a Member of the League by a vote of the Council concurred in by the Representatives of all the other Members of the League represented thereon.

Article 17.

1. In the event of a dispute between a Member of the League and a State which is not a Member of the League, or between States not Members of the League, the State or States not Members of the League shall be invited to accept the obligations of membership in the League for the purposes of such dispute, upon such conditions as the Council may deem just. If such invitation is accepted, the provisions of Articles 12 to 16 inclusive shall be applied with such modifications as may be deemed necessary by the Council.

2. Upon such invitation being given the Council shall immediately institute an enquiry into the circumstances of the dispute and recommend such action as may seem best and most effectual in the circumstances.

3. If a State so invited shall refuse to accept the

obligations of membership in the League for the purposes of such dispute, and shall resort to war against a Member of the League, the provisions of Article 16 shall be applicable as against the State taking such action.

4. If both parties to the dispute when so invited refuse to accept the obligations of membership in the League for the purposes of such dispute, the Council may take such measures and make such recommendations as will prevent hostilities and will result in the settlement of the dispute.

Article 18.

Every treaty or international engagement entered into hereafter by any Member of the League shall be forthwith registered with the Secretariat and shall as soon as possible be published by it. No such treaty or international engagement shall be binding until so registered.

Article 19.

The Assembly may from time to time advise the reconsideration by Members of the League of treaties which have become inapplicable and the consideration of international conditions whose continuance might endanger the peace of the world.

Article 20.

1. The Members of the League severally agree that this Covenant is accepted as abrogating all

obligations or understandings *inter se* which are inconsistent with the terms thereof, and solemnly undertake that they will not hereafter enter into any engagements inconsistent with the terms thereof.

2. In case any Member of the League shall, before becoming a Member of the League, have undertaken any obligations inconsistent with the terms of this Covenant, it shall be the duty of such Member to take immediate steps to procure its release from such obligations.

Article 21.

Nothing in this Covenant shall be deemed to affect the validity of international engagements, such as treaties of arbitration or regional understandings like the Monroe doctrine, for securing the maintenance of peace.

Article 22.

1. To those colonies and territories which as a consequence of the late war have ceased to be under the sovereignty of the States which formerly governed them and which are inhabited by peoples not yet able to stand by themselves under the strenuous conditions of the modern world, there should be applied the principle that the well-being and development of such peoples form a sacred trust of civilisation and that securities for the performance of this trust should be embodied in this Covenant.

2. The best method of giving practical effect to this principle is that the tutelage of such peoples should be entrusted to advanced nations who by reason of their resources, their experience or their geographical position can best undertake this responsibility, and who are willing to accept it, and that this tutelage should be exercised by them as Mandatories on behalf of the League.

3. The character of the mandate must differ according to the stage of the development of the people, the geographical situation of the territory, its economic conditions and other similar circumstances.

4. Certain communities formerly belonging to the Turkish Empire have reached a stage of development where their existence as independent nations can be provisionally recognised subject to the rendering of administrative advice and assistance by a Mandatory until such time as they are able to stand alone. The wishes of these communities must be a principal consideration in the selection of the Mandatory.

5. Other peoples, especially those of Central Africa, are at such a stage that the Mandatory must be responsible for the administration of the territory under conditions which will guarantee freedom of conscience and religion, subject only to the maintenance of public order and morals, the prohibition of abuses such as the slave trade, the arms traffic and the liquor traffic, and the prevention of the establishment of fortifications or

Article 23.

Subject to and in accordance with the provisions of international conventions existing or hereafter to be agreed upon, the Members of the League :

- (a) will endeavour to secure and maintain fair and humane conditions of labour for men, women, and children, both in their own countries and in all countries to which their commercial and industrial relations extend, and for that purpose will establish and maintain the necessary international organisations;
- (b) undertake to secure just treatment of the native inhabitants of territories under their control ;
- (c) will entrust the League with the general supervision over the execution of agreements with regard to the traffic in women and children, and the traffic in opium and other dangerous drugs ;
- (d) will entrust the League with the general supervision of the trade in arms and ammunition with the countries in which the control of this traffic is necessary in the common interest ;
- (e) will make provision to secure and maintain freedom of communications and of transit

and equitable treatment for the commerce of all Members of the League. In this connection, the special necessities of the regions devastated during the war of 1914-18 shall be borne in mind ;

- (f) will endeavour to take steps in matters of international concern for the prevention and control of disease.

Article 24.

1. There shall be placed under the direction of the League all international bureaux already established by general treaties if the parties to such treaties consent. All such international bureaux and all commissions for the regulation of matters of international interest hereafter constituted shall be placed under the direction of the League.

2. In all matters of international interest which are regulated by general conventions but which are not placed under the control of international bureaux or commissions, the Secretariat of the League shall, subject to the consent of the Council and if desired by the parties, collect and distribute all relevant information and shall render any other assistance which may be necessary or desirable.

3. The Council may include as part of the expenses of the Secretariat the expenses of any bureau

or commission which is placed under the direction of the League.

Article 25.

The Members of the League agree to encourage and promote the establishment and co-operation of duly authorised voluntary national Red Cross organisations having as purposes the improvement of health, the prevention of disease and the mitigation of suffering throughout the world.

Article 26.

1. Amendments to this Covenant will take effect when ratified by the Members of the League whose Representatives compose the Council and by a majority of the Members of the League whose Representatives compose the Assembly.

2. No such amendments shall bind any Member of the League which signifies its dissent therefrom, but in that case it shall cease to be a Member of the League.
